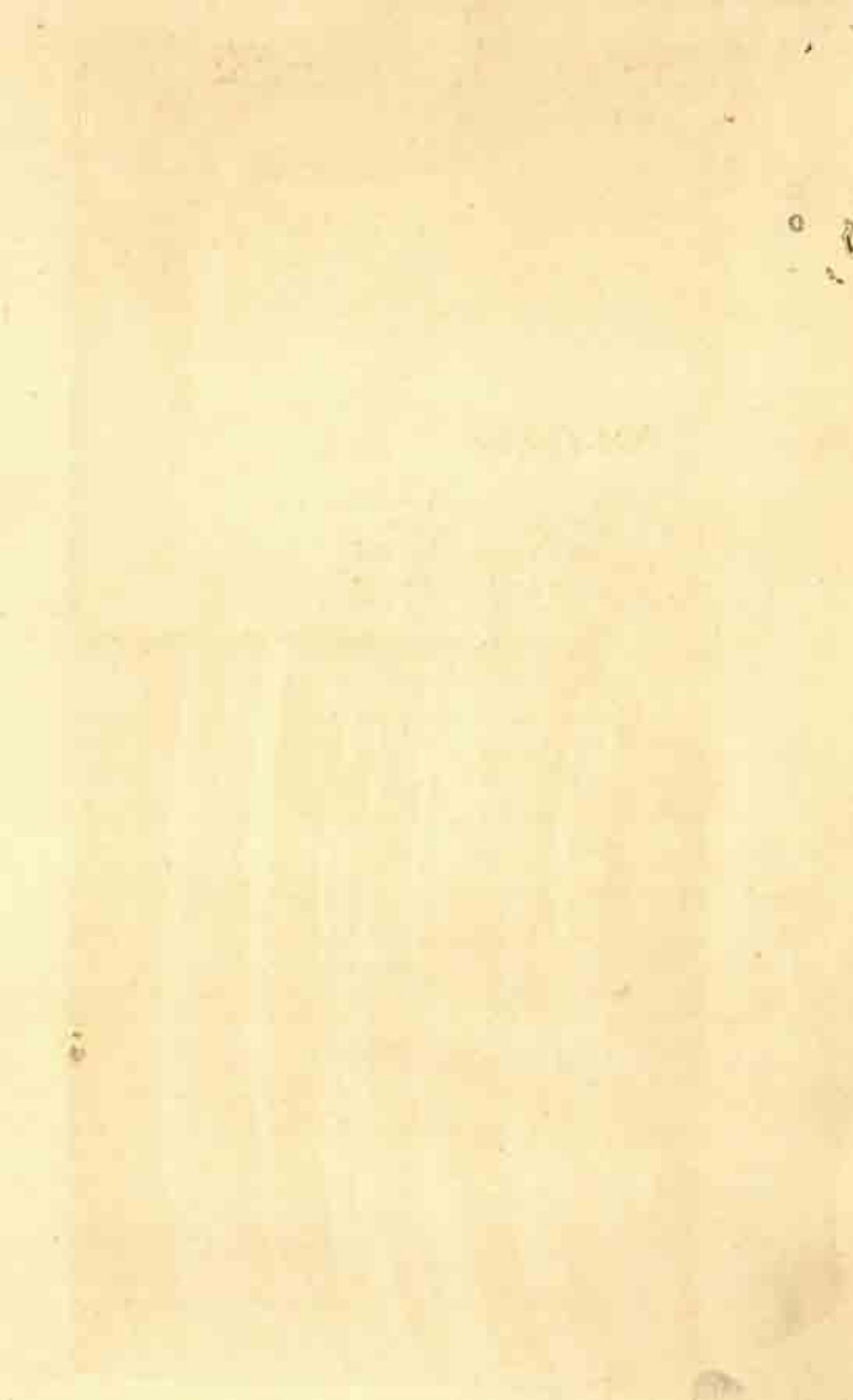


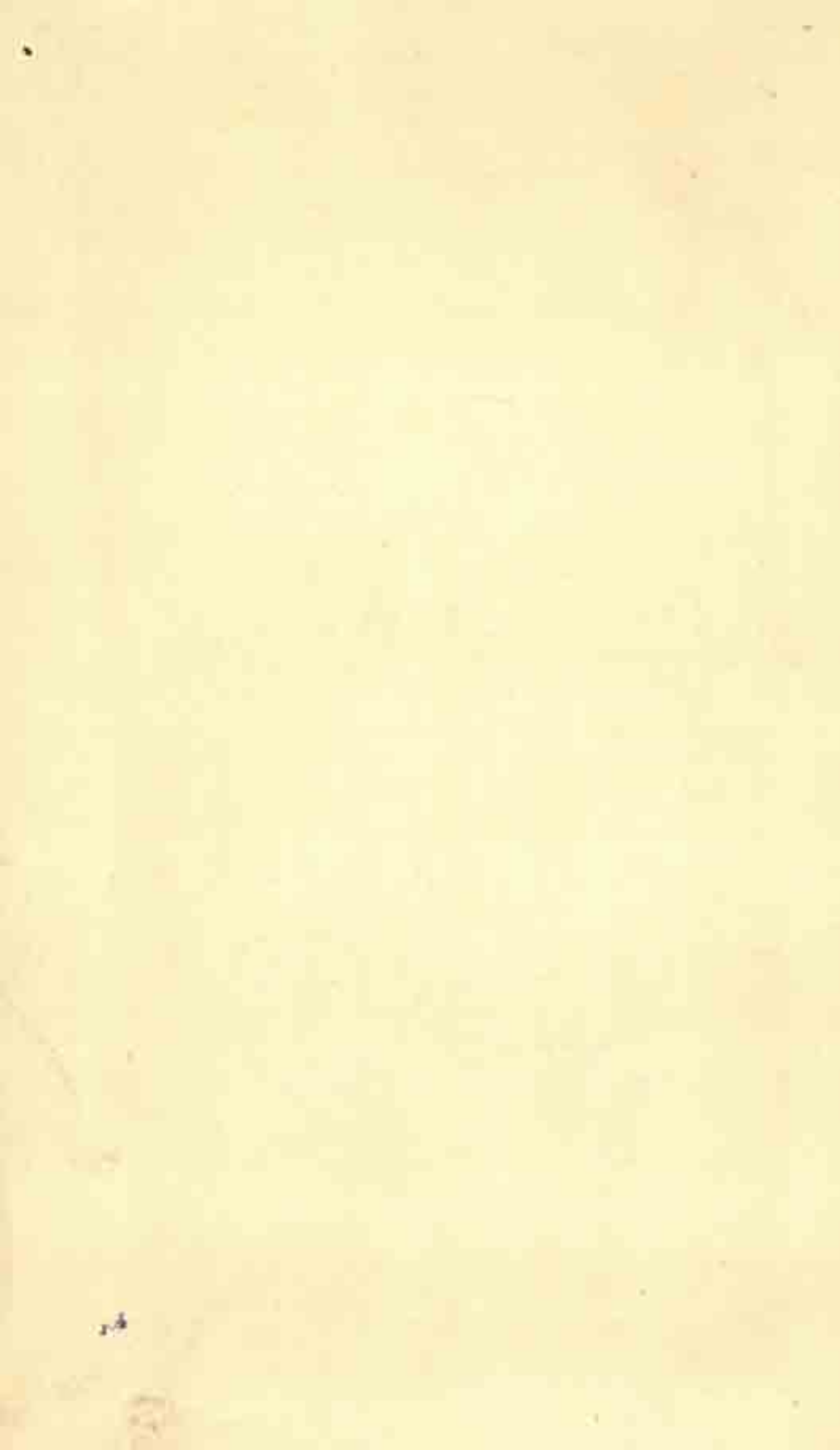
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Indian Culture and Civilization

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Published by
Jay Shankar Brothers
Old Bairana, Allahabad



SECOND REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION
FIRST PRINT, MAY, 1952.

R-126 Guilt letter full cloth bound Rs. 15, £ 1-1 (U.K.), \$ 5 (U.S.A.)

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OBTAINABLE FROM ALL BOOKSELLERS OR FROM THE PUBLISHERS,
44, THORNHILL ROAD, ALLAHABAD, INDIA.

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INTRODUCTION

Etymologically the term culture is equivalent to cultivation. The Sanskrit term, *Sanskriti*, is more significant and implies refinement. The purpose of cultivation is also refinement of the natural condition of the ground. By the various processes of cultivation the impurities of the soil are removed, the stone pieces and meta'lic dust are separated, and the overgrowths and weeds are uprooted. Then the pure soil is watered and manured in order to turn it into such a condition that when seeds are properly sown there will grow the desired crops, plants and flowers according to its full capacity. The capacities both mental and physical of human beings have been similarly developed. As the soil in all places does not require all the various processes of cultivation for its preparation to grow crops, similarly the children of all families do not need the initial stages of refinement which is inherent in them. Thus culture primarily aims at the refinement of natural intelligence and capacities to its fullest growing power. It is revealed in the individual and social responsibilities and obligations spontaneously. It leads to such actions of individual and group uplifts as are associated with the sphere and field of domestic, social, political, artistic, scientific, literary and religious work.

As a distinguished writer (Editor, Britain To-day, no. 84) puts it 'we may think of culture in terms of literature or art, or social philosophy, or science, or morality, or religious scrupulosity. We may think of it as a way of living, or a standard of behaviour, or the ideal implicit in the conduct required in the relationship between citizen and citizen, man and man, state and state. But from whatever viewpoint we may consider it, it must always include (what Matthew Arnold described as) "disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world, and thus to establish a current of fresh and true ideas". Just as the world is divided into nations and races, so it is divided into types of culture, each having its distinctive character, its *esprit*, its talent, its tone, as recognizable in a nation as in an individual. We may speak of Roman culture in their conception of law,

Grecian culture in their conception of freedom of thought, 'Hindu culture in their religious conception of love and charity'. Again we speak of Bengali, Tamil or Gujarati culture, or of Irish or Scottish culture, emphasizing certain special feature of each, and in each case we think of something distinctive and individual, or we may speak more broadly of British culture, and more broadly still of European culture, and Western and Eastern culture, and finally of 'modern culture, which is co-extensive with civilization'.

Civilization is equivalent to Sanskrit *Sabhyatā* which means the sociableness or the fitness to live in a society (*sabha*) rather than individually without the privilege of and obligation to other members of a society, big or small. The term 'civilization' comes from the verb 'to civilize' which is derived from the adjective 'civil' that is historically connected with the 'city' wherein more various people than in a homogeneous village have to live in peace and prosperity. The term 'civil' as opposed to military, ecclesiastical or political, implies the association of people of a non-denominational character having the refinement of city-bred people. The inhabitants of a city are generally more refined, better educated and better organized than the people living in country side in small groups and hamlets. This original distinction came to acquire a broader scope later on. The more advanced people who were endowed with a better intellectual culture, regarded themselves civilized in order to distinguish them from those who do not enjoy these facilities. Thus civilization stands for a high degree of intellectual culture, elevated moral notions, and a desire for material comforts. It includes material progress, commercial and industrial developments, social liberty and political advance. Thus it aims at making man happier, nobler, and better off than he is. It is characterised by the success in the conquest of other people as well as nature, the annihilation of time and space, the exploitation of new regions on earth and such other progress. It results in the elevation of a man or people by organized effort. Thus the ancient Greeks and Romans used to regard all others as uncivilized. Similarly the Aryan conquerors of India segregated the original inhabitants as aborigines. On the same basis the modern Europeans and Americans consider the Asians and the peoples of other countries and islands

less civilized, if not altogether uncivilized. On that ground alone they consider themselves justified in colonization for the ostensive purpose of civilizing others concealing the cleverly organized exploitation.

Thus in ordinary use the terms 'culture' and 'civilization' have lost their distinction. In fact in general vocabulary they are found used almost as synonyms. But for an accurate and precise estimate of the culture and of the civilization of a race or nation it is necessary to recognize their fundamental distinction.

As has been explained above culture would refer to the conditions of the mental progress while civilization should result in physical deed and material progress. The former would be associated with innate conscience and the latter with action. It is common knowledge that an individual may think and feel a problem quite rationally and may act in an irrational manner. This discrepancy is due to various reasons. The most obvious one is that thinkers and workers belong to two different groups. Legislators and executive officers have different functions to do. The field of work, however, would remain common for both. Therefore in judging the cultural condition and the state of civilization of a people the affairs concerning their family, their society, their trade and commerce, their politics, their religion, their arts and sciences, and their literature have to be examined. In his *Discovery of India* Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru has recognized this distinction when he says that 'culture develops into a rich civilization flowering out in philosophy, literature, drama, art, science and mathematics'. Thus culture is synonymous with moral progress, and civilization corresponds to material progress. Civilization is outward active form and resultant of the inward conception of culture. Culture or moral conception is expressed in civilization or material progress. The condition of culture and the state of civilization in an individual as well as in a group are not, however, stationary. They change from age to age and from place to place, and frustrate an attempt at generalization. But the historians have classified the condition of culture and the state of civilization, the humanity as a whole has undergone in the well defined periods of its progress without, however, any precise specification of time and place, into primitive, medieval, and ideal states.

In the primitive state the individuals and their instinctive groupings like animal herds are correctly defined as 'grossly selfish, absolutely callous and abnormally cruel'. Selfishness consists in regarding one's own self and ignoring others altogether. When one is grossly selfish he is unable to think of even his own parents or children. By instinctive impulse, however, the mother animal remains attached to the child during pregnancy and a short time after birth. But the mutual natural obligation and acquaintance disappear as soon as the child is capable of standing on its own legs. Thereafter the mother and child may even kill each other for some selfish motive. Thus the gross selfishness which was originally an inactive state of the mind results into a positive action. The callousness is a state of the mind in which one develops a sort of unfeelingness like the hardened skin losing the power of sensation. Thus it results in any sort of cruelty. Cruelty lies in a disposition of the mind which renders one incapable of imagining or recalling the pain of sufferings inflicted upon others. This disposition also results in a positive action in inflicting pains upon others and in deriving a sort of pleasure thereby. These characteristics, primarily indicating the mental conditions of the primitive man, led to the actual activities by which the primitive society is recognized. It was pastoral in character but organized agriculture and industry were unknown. Hunting and fishing by which the livelihood was earned were the chief occupations. There were no laws regulating the instinctive union of man and woman. Supremacy of customs prevailed in all matters. Patriarchal notion predominated. Personal property and rights were absent, might being the only right which was understood and allowed both by the strong and the weak. Thus the individuals submitted to the family heads; they submitted to the tribal head and the latter to the head of the race. This verges to the modern political organization coerced into the party system of government whereby the individual members are prevented to think or act freely. Sense of morality and religion was absent. A feeling of obligation to immediate forefathers which even the neolithic men expressed in the sepulchres built in memory of deceased parent, was unknown to the primitives. They appear, however, better off than

the palaeolithic men in manual skill and use of metals and fire.

In the medieval society on the other hand religion became the supreme concern of life. It is not traceable how this reaction came about. But the man became intensely religious in every sphere of life. Marriages were performed for facilitating the performance of religious rites. Children were begotten to continue the ancestral worship. Food was first sacrificed to gods and then eaten for preservation of life. All resources were applied in erecting colossal churches and temples. Crusades were led, and wars to propagate a particular religion became sacred duties of kings and powerful rulers. In the name of religion all sorts of cruelties were practised. Men and animals were slaughtered to propitiate deities. Children were sacrificed. The chastity of women was sold to the imaginary deities and the immoral priests. The church became all powerful. Monasteries and convents were established to coerce men, women and widows to live unnatural life. The priesthood became too domineering. Their directions had to be followed by the agriculturists and the traders as well as by the rulers and kings as they became God's earthly representatives. The economic and political serfdom took the place of the primitive slavery. The class and caste systems were developed. The constitution of chivalry was, however, introduced to protect the weak and to respect women. But agriculture, commerce, and industry were not given sufficient scope to develop. Politics proper were neglected. Kings were the sole owner of the land; feudal chiefs held charge in return for services. Thus there was no good government and order in the society. Those who retained the primitive selfishness took advantage of this disorder and built up strong states to exploit others.

A reference has to be made to the modern society in passing by way of understanding an ideal society. While in regard to the primitive and the medieval conditions there is a common feature noticeable all over the world, there is no such general uniformity in the outlook and activities of the modern societies. It is only in a vague manner assumed that in modern advanced societies there is no room for the primitive lack of consideration for individuals and the medieval lack of discipline. Thus

the present aim is to combine the sovereignty of the state with the liberty of the individuals. A mere policy has been set up to ensure for the individuals, races, nations, and states four freedoms, *viz.* freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom from fear and want of food and clothes, and freedom of religion. Obviously these are contradictory ideals. Unless it is assumed that there is a uniformity in human culture and human civilization these elements of freedom cannot fit well together. If all peoples of the world do not think in the same way no freedom of thought can be ensured for all. The christian missionary, the fascism, the socialism, the communism, the totalitarianism, etc., will impose its own ideals upon others. It will suppress others by force if they speak against it. It will starve others by economic blockade. It cannot allow human sacrifice, for instance, in the name of religion. In the name of personal freedom if you do not care for the chastity and sacredness of union between sexes there would be no difference between man and beast. If in the name of free trade and commerce you rob, exploit and starve others you are as selfish, as callous, and as cruel as the primitives. If you allow free practice of various religious customs your own faith or fanaticism cannot prosper. And if all peoples living side by side are allowed to have their own freedom of thought and action there can be no society. The free animals of the jungles have never prospered. The survival of the fittest is an inconvenient truth. Thus the modernism results in materialism in place of spiritualism of the medieval and fatalism of the primitive age. The scientific discoveries and the inductive and experimental method, devoid of a sound faith in the continuance of the present life, have been rendering this modern materialism intractable. For, the mania for progress means the destruction of the weak and survival of the fittest at the cost of others. The anachronism in the modern outlook is obvious.

There is a sharp and reasonable difference of opinion regarding the ideal condition of culture and civilization. There is no consensus of the ideal as well as the means by which an agreed ideal may be aimed at. The parliamentary form of government has proved a failure in combining the sovereignty of the state with the liberty of the individuals. This system can never ensure for all

the freedom of thought, speech and action, and the freedom from fear and want of food and clothes. An experiment is being made by the communists to replace this unsuccessful system by providing equal opportunities to all to develop and denying special facilities to the privileged few. The anachronism of this system lies in the fact that the organized might of a people may only enforce the equalization of inherited or accumulated wealth but it cannot equalize the God's gift and inborn qualities of individuals by merely providing equal opportunities to all the members of a locality. You can provide necessary food, clothes, residence either directly or through salary to all irrespective of their services to the society and their callings and professions; you can never educate them all in the same or similar schools. But despite all these factors and elements of equalization the inborn aptitude, if not the unknown destiny, may lift up one brother or sister and drag down the other. Thus a problem has arisen regarding a man's relation to his society. The question is whether it should be determined 'by his right and not by his services'. According to one ideal 'all a man should demand is a fair field and no favour, so that he can count on rising to the level to which his abilities and his attainments entitle him'. According to the other ideal it is assumed that 'a man has a right to a comfortable living in virtue of his mere existence and without regard to any return he may make to the society with the corollaries that the majority have a right to commandeer unusual ability and exact special service from it, and that no man may receive more than a fixed maximum reward. There can, however, be no question as to which of these two ideals is 'more stimulating to the development of intelligence, or more acceptable to plain self-respect'.

The Hindu civilization has ascribed this discrepancy between man and man born and brought up without partiality to the destiny or the consequences of one's own action in some previous birth. This destiny, it is further assumed, can be altered only by the Almighty God if He is propitiated by our worship and prayer and good deeds. In any case an individual can build up a better destiny for the future by doing better in the present birth. The Sanskrit culture has been founded upon such a belief. This philosophy of life has the advantage of offering an explanation of the otherwise

obscure contradictions and incongruities of human life. It reconciles the individual to his personal disadvantages and inferiority complex. But it encourages all to improve their lot by personal efforts and to build up a better future. Thus it transcends the primitive fatalism and ensures the social discipline which was lacking in medieval time and which is aimed at by the modern society. It has, further, assumed the ideal and original equality of all human beings inheriting the progeny of the same God despite their class and caste differences, and it has prescribed for the achievement of equalization in the fulness of time, and to endeavour in accordance with the laws formulated by theseersto suit the inequality of individuals at birth and their group needs. The apparent partialities in domestic, social, commercial, political and moral and spiritual laws are intended to provide greater facilities to improve through the limitation of one's birth. There appears to have been no organized policy to exploit and keep suppressed the inferior groups as is being practised ruthlessly by the modern civilization. In fact if there is a real parental honesty in providing a restricted scope for gradual and steady development the children improve quicker rather than in getting the greater scope which is suitable for the adult. A subaltern would be a better commander-in-chief of an army if he gradually rises in rank. A woman would be a better judge of a children court if she learns her own duties as mother and is initiated to the principles of laws.

The Hindu legislators recognized these facts and formulated their laws for economic security of the family, community, society, and for agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, for kings and rulers, and for moral and spiritual advancement. The aim of this small treatise is a rational and impartial examination of these laws and natural conclusions therefrom regarding our inherent culture and civilization. Herein an honest effort has been made 'to be quite certain of our data, to present the monumental record exactly as it now exists and to interpret it faithfully and literally'.

The rational interpretation of the data discussed in the chapters of this volume may justify the logical conclusions concerning the moral and material progress the Hindus made for the first time in the world. It should be clear that from the remotest past India has been understood as a geographical unit. The daily utterance in one breath by all Indians of the famous

seven rivers covering the whole of India, viz., Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu (Indus) and Kaverī, and of the seven sacred cities, viz., Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Mayā (Hardwar), Kāśī (Banaras), Kānchī (Conjevaram), Avantikā (Ujjain) and Dvārāvātī (Dwarka) reminds the people of their fundamental unity in India.

The codification of marriage laws, which distinguish men from beasts, was first made in Sanskrit treatises. It is clear therefrom that the grown up young men and girls could choose their partners and marry with the consent of their parents. There was healthy freedom for the women. Girls were educated like the boys. They had the rights of sharing with their husbands all religious and social functions.¹ Ghoshā, Aputā, Lopāmudrā, Viśvabārā and others are credited with the composition of Vedic hymns. Gārgī and Maitreyī took part in philosophical discussions publicly with their learned husband, the sage Yājñavalkya. The family life was well organized. The obligation and privileges of husband and wife were of high order. The sacraments were predominantly the parental duties towards the children until the latter were married and settled in life to carry out the domestic duties, upon which the stability and progress of the whole society depended. Thereafter having finished all responsibilities and service to the society one could reside in the quietness of the forest to reflect on spiritual truths in solitude, and lastly prepare for a peaceful death by uninterrupted contemplation of God through complete renunciation of all worldly affairs.

¹ The preliminary report of the U.N. Secretary-General on the Status of Women in Family Law covers such subjects as marriage, divorce, personal relations between spouses and between parents and children. It includes such information as the following:

Legal Age for Marriage: In many countries, the legal age for marriage is as low as 14 for men and 12 for women. Among them are Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Southern Rhodesia, Ireland (for Catholics) and Australia and New Zealand. In Costa Rica the age for both parties is 15, while in Nicaragua it is 15 for men and 14 for women. The highest legal ages reported are 21 for men and 18 for women. These obtain in such cold countries as Denmark and Sweden and in some states of the United States.

Divorce and Separation: Here the report cites many widely differing practices. For example, in South Africa, a divorced

The material progress made in India regarding the fundamental needs of a civilized life in respect of food, clothes and ornaments, and dwelling houses and furniture was unique. Even from the period of Mahenjodaro (B. C. 3250—2750) and especially in the Vedic period (B. C. 2500—1000) almost all the modern processes of agriculture and mineralogy for the production of raw materials were well understood and scientifically put into practice. These raw materials were converted into consumers' goods by organized labour and capital. The industrial progress of the Hindus was not a mean achievement.

The science of medicine and surgery was first made in India, and the western world, even including Greece, borrowed many of our discoveries in these sciences as well as in geometry, algebra, arithmetic,

wife can claim no alimony even when she is the innocent party. In Sweden, on the other hand, the husband must pay his divorced wife and her children an allowance, unless she has her own income or is capable of earning her own living. In Great Britain and Northern Ireland, women may petition for separation and divorce on more grounds than those available to men. But in Iran a man may divorce his wife 'on whatever grounds he chooses,' whereas a woman may take action only in the case of insanity or impotence.

The survey cites several countries where women enjoy marital equality. Among these are the USSR where 'both spouses have equal status in their personal relations, including choice of residence'; Czechoslovakia, Poland and Roumania, where 'any incapacity attached to married women has been abolished'; and Yugoslavia, which 'has established full equality of husband and wife. The wife has the right to choose which family name she wants to use after marriage—her own or that of her husband'. The report deals with the legal relationship between parents and their legitimate and illegitimate children. These, it finds, differ sharply in the two categories. 'Most legal systems recognize more readily the relationship of the (illegitimate) child to his mother and, apparently in the interest of the legitimate child, are reluctant to do the same in the father's case. In some countries, even if the father wishes to acknowledge his relationship with the child, the mother's consent is necessary and she retains her rights over the child'. In Sweden, a divorced wife may be compelled by law to pay her former husband an allowance if he is in need and unable to work. In the Soviet Union, the institution of betrothal does not exist. In Brazil married women, as long as the marital tie exists, are placed with respect to legal capacity on the same footing as minors.

astronomy and chemistry. The professional healers of diseases are mentioned in the Rigveda. A section of the Atharvaveda is named as Ayurveda (science of healing). King Asoka (3rd century B.C.) built for the first time in the world hospitals for men and animals. Charaka and Suśruta of the 4th century B. C. mentioned numerous treatises and authors of medicine and surgery. Medical science was properly taught at the University of Taxila where physicians from various countries used to assemble. Decisions of all those medical associations were recorded by Charaka. Anatomy and embryology were taught. All kinds of diseases and their cure by medicine and surgery have been thoroughly dealt with. Chemical analysis of organic and inorganic things developed. Preparation of colours is also discussed. The progress made in medical treatment is remarkable. The Rigveda (1-1-15) mentions the use of an iron leg as a substitute for the limb lost in a battle. The Mahābhārata refers to antidotes for the snake-bite of king Parikshita (Adi Parva, Chap. 42), and surgical appliances to treat the wounds of Bhishma (Bhishma Parva, Chap. 121, verses 5745-5750). The Bhojaprabandha refers to anaesthetic by inhalation before surgical operations. Asoka's Rock Inscription (Ediot 11) refers to manufacture of medicines and hospitals for men and beasts. Accounts of Fa Hian and Hsuen Tsiang as given in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World (Vol. I pp. 165, 198, 214; Vol. II. pp. 188, 303) also mention charitable Institutions such as hospitals, dispensaries and Puṇyāśāla (charity houses). The ancient tradition continues this day and the Hindu system of medicine is still being practised with wonderful success in curing some diseases. 'Anatomy and surgery began to decline during the Buddhist period and were lost during the Muslim rule.' Of the two of our great medical authorities, Charaka and Suśruta, the latter who was a surgeon of great repute, says (Sūtra-sthāna, chap. xii) that 'of all cutting instruments and their substitutes, caustics (on vegetable alkalies) are the most important because by means of them deep and superficial incisions and scarifications may be made and derangement of the three humours (air, bile and phlegm) may be rectified,' but "with regard to surgical treatment, actual cautery is superior to caustics, because the diseases treated with the actual cautery do not reappear and because it can

cure diseases incurable by medicines, instruments and caustics." Buddha, however, prohibited the use of lancet for treatment of fistula-in-ano and the use of clysters also although he allowed the surgical treatment of birds by knife (Mahavagga, vi, 14-4-5). The instruments are classified under several heads, *viz.*, Yantra (blunt instruments), Swastika (cruciform), Sandamśa (pincher like), Tāla (pick-lock-like), Nāḍi (tubular), Śalaka (rod shaped), Upayantra (accessory), Śaṣṭras (sharp), and Anu-śaṣṭras (substitutes for sharp instruments). The blunt instruments are subdivided into 101 varieties and the sharp into 20 kinds by Suśruta. Hārīta mentions 12 blunt, 12 sharp and 4 Prabandhas necessary for the operations of extraction of arrows and other foreign bodies. Vāgbhata II mentions 115 blunts and 26 sharp instruments. For treatments of elephants, Paṭakapya mentions ten varieties of sharp instruments.

Hospital buildings and equipments are fully described in the Charaka Saṁhitā (I. XV. and XII. v. 45). The building must be strong and spacious, well ventilated, surrounding scenery being pleasing but free from draughts and smoke and dust, nor exposed to glare and the sun. There must be additional grounds for privy, bath-room and kitchen. Suśruta (Lxix) directs specially built rooms for surgical patients operated upon for diseases like inflammatory swelling, wounds, etc., which should be situated in healthy locality free from draughts and the sun; the bed should be soft, spacious and well arranged and properly furnished and comfortable. The patient should have dear friends whose sweet company and words may relieve the pain and cheer up by pleasant stories. Charaka describes similarly the lying-in-room in wooded grounds of auspicious colour, taste and smell. There should be provided for the pregnant woman sufficient clothes, liniments and covers which should be frequently changed, washed and disinfected. The nursing room for the newly born child should be spacious, beautiful, full of light, well ventilated but free from draughts, beasts of prey, animals with fangs, mice and insects. The beddings, seats and covers should be comfortable according to the season. The child's bed, covers and sheets should be soft, light, pure and scented, and free from sweat, dirt, worms and bugs, and urine and faeces. The soiled coverings should be well washed, and beddings well

purified with steam and thoroughly dried up. A variety of toys to please the child should be at hand and be coloured, light, musical, beautiful and must not be sharp, pointed or of such slope and size as may be put into the child's mouth or may terrify (Charaka, iv, viii). The servants and nurses should, in all cases of patients, be good, virtuous, pure, fond, clever, generous, well trained for nursing, skilful, able to cook diets, administer a bath, trained in raising and moving the patient, dexterous in bed-making, managing, and compounding medicines, and not unwilling in cleaning wounds, and touching urine, blood, and soil, etc. Dispensaries are stated by Suśruta (I. xxxvii) to be built in a clean locality and the 'medicines should be kept in burnt earthen pots arranged on planks supported by stakes or pins, and in pieces of cloth, wooden pots and Saṅku (kilaka)'. Physicians 'should collect and classify medicines, and with them prepare external applications, infusions, oils, ghee, and syrups'. Medicines should be used singly and also in combinations according to the nature of the disease and the extent of the derangement of the humours (I. xxxviii). Medicines of special scientific interest are the anaesthetics used to produce insensibility to pain. Both Charaka and Suśruta mention the use of wine to produce insensibility before an operation. Suśruta says (I. xvii) that 'the patient who has been fed does not faint, and he who is rendered intoxicated does not feel the pain of an operation'. The inhaling of fumes of burning the Indian hemp as an anaesthetic was also in vogue. Before a cranial operation performed on king Bhoja (about 927 A. D.) he was rendered unconscious by a drug significantly called Sammohini (producer of unconsciousness) and he regained consciousness after the operation by the use of another drug called Sanjivani (restorer of life).

Our achievements in surgery and medicines alike were unique. It is well known that the medical treatises of Charaka, Suśruta and Mādhava were translated into Arabic (8th century A. D.). "The modern medical science of the West is principally based on the Grecian system as preserved in the books of the Arabian authors and so indirectly depends for some particulars at least upon the Indian system."

Aryabhaṭṭa (5th century A. D.) for the first time discovered the distinction between day and night caused

by the rotation of the earth. Bhaskaracharya (12th century) discovered the centre of gravity causing the fall of heavy things towards the earth long before Newton (17th century) found it in Europe. The relation between the sun and the moon and the earth, and other planets and the stars, the causes of eclipses and the ebb tide and flow tide were also discovered first in India. Arithmetic and Algebra are chiefly the first discoveries of the Hindu Mathematicians. The numbers 1 to 9 and the zero (*śūnya*) were discovered here and spread to Arabia and European countries. Āryabhaṭṭa, Bhāskarāchārya, and Brahmagupta solved such problems of Algebra as came to be known in Europe not before the 17th and 18th centuries. Baudhayana and Āpastamba (2nd century, B. C.) dealt with geometrical theorems and showed how to draw a square equal to a triangle, and a circle equal in area of a square. In trigonometry the Hindus discovered the sine, co-sine, and versed sine long before it was found out in Europe in the 16th century by Briggs. Bhaskaracharya explained the method to find the length of sides of equilateral and equiangular figures of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 sides drawn within a circle in comparison with its diameter.

In architecture, sculpture, and painting India reached for the first time a place of honour in the whole world. The city, buildings, and tanks, etc., of Mahenjodaro (3250 B. C.) are unique in the science of building. The Kailāsa temple at Ellora is a real wonder of the world. Mount Abu presents unique construction in white marble. No colossal single structure like Bara-Budur (Bhādhara or mountain) exists anywhere else in the world. Sanchi gate exhibits a unique achievement. The arts of Karle cave can hardly be seen any where else. The iron pillar near Delhi has proved what the Hindus could do even in metal. Colossal images of Jina and Buddha are indeed bold construction. Sculptures of the Gupta age, carving all objects and ideas, have no parallel anywhere else. Technical perfection and artistic achievements of the Ajanta cave paintings (of 600 A. D.) could be attempted in Italy after 800 years in 1400 A. D.

Indian made goods were also exported to Insulinidia comprising China, Japan, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Burma, Ceylon and other islands. Indian

exports penetrated to Serindia of central Asia also. There were ample facilities for transport by land routes and sea routes. From the Vedic time the knowledge of writing and use of coins as medium of exchange were in vogue. Thus the colonization of Hindus advanced but there was no policy of exploitation. Hinduism and Buddhism thus spread far and wide. Kings like Chandragupta and Asoka of the Maurya dynasty, and Samudragupta and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty built up an all India empire. But all of them maintained the sovereignty of the state harmoniously along with the liberty of the individuals. Even in the Vedic time there were representative assembly and councils whose majority votes were binding upon the ruler. Confederation of independent states was extant during the times of the Buddha, the Rāmāyana, and the Mahābhārata. There has been no country in the world whose ruler declared the policy of his administration in words of immortal significance—'if I oppress and exploit the subjects may I be deprived of all the fruits of my good deeds in this life, next life, and descendants.' There was no prince like Buddha in any other country who renounced the kingdom, young wife and newly born son in order to seek remedy to prevent the miseries of want and privation, and death and infirmity of the subjects. There was no king like Asoka who gave up the idea of conquest after seeing the miseries of the people of Kalinga resulting from the bloody war.

In spiritualism and philosophical ideal India still continues to be the leader of world thought. No where else one can find such noble attitude as the following:—'God is the only and same destination for all of different tastes, and ways and means as all the rivers aim to reach the same ocean (*ruchinām vaichitryād riju kuṣila nānāpathayūṣhām nṛṇām eko gamyaś tvam asi payāśam arṇava iva*). No where else in the world the spiritual teacher has asked the disciples to follow only those of his own qualities which are really good, not others (*yāni asmākaṁ sucharitāṇi tāni tvayā upāsyāni na itarāṇi*) and to do only those which are blameless (*yāni anavadyāni karmāṇi tāni sevityāni na itarāṇi*). No philosopher like Patañjali ever declared—'one can attain salvation through the prayer of his own choice (*yathābhīmata-dhyānā iva*). Kapila the author of the Sāṁkhya system, though atheist, yet was esteemed as God. No

where else one can find an instance like that of the Buddha having been included as one of the incarnations of God though he had opposed the orthodox Vedic religion.

In literature the achievements of the Hindus were the highest and the earliest. No literature like the Vedas (B. C. 2500-1000) developed anywhere in the world. The Brahmana class of Vedic literature gave rise to the Upanishads which contain unique philosophical thoughts, and what is known as the limbs of the Veda, *viz.*, phonology (*śikṣā*), laws of sacrifices, domestic life and political administration, lexicons, rules of metres, astronomy, and grammar. These helped a quick development of the classical literature. One of the epics, the Mahābhārata of 1,00,000 verses is eight times of Homer's two epics (*Illiad* and *Odesy*) put together. The Rāmāyaṇa gave rise to the poetic literature of Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and many others. Bhāsa wrote a series of plays in the 4th century B. C. which reached the highest development in the dramas of Kālidāsa and his successors. There are numerous novels, and story books and lyrical poems. There are treatises on dramaturgy, poetics, Kamaśāstra, Vastuśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra. Pali and Prākṛit literature of the Buddhists and Jainas are also varied and extensive.

Such a unique development in literature, science and arts was possible owing to the extraordinary facilities for learning and teaching of all the known subjects. The universities at Taxila, Ujjain, Amaravati, Nalanda, Kashi, Kanchi, Vikramasila, Madura, Vallabhi, and other places were well organized and well equipped institutions. The Chinese pilgrim scholar, Hiuen-Tsiang, has recorded that at Nalanda University 10,000 students were provided with residence, beddings, clothes, food, and free medical treatment in addition to books and teaching. Is there any such University anywhere in the modern world which is so proud of its development over the past.

This brief outline may help in indicating the secret of so much success in Hindu life of the past. It is true that Hindu life was essentially religious but at the same time it was active. The Vedas taught us to perform the prescribed duties like well trained soldiers. The faith and belief in God and in the immortality of soul thus developed. The efficacy of one's effort

was thus instilled in our mind. Action and thought, and optimism developed side by side. The inequalities between man and man, and between man and woman did not upset the equilibrium of Hindu society. This may follow from the interpretation attempted in the chapters of this volume.

As we have commenced our journey towards our own self government we should not ignore our long past. Pandit Nehru has truly declared that "the past is ever with us, and all that we are and that we have comes from the past. We are its products and we live immersed in it. Not to understand and feel it as something living with us is not to understand the present. To combine it with the present and extend it to the future, to break from it where it cannot be united, to make all this the pulsating and vibrating material for thought and action—that is life. All the long past of the individual, even of the race, has prepared the background for that psychological moment of action. All the racial memories, influences of heredity and environment and training, subconscious urges, thoughts and dreams and actions from infancy and childhood onwards, in their curious and tremendous mix-up inevitably drive to that new action which again becomes yet another factor in influencing the future". It is true that the past is 'unaffected by the storms and upheavals of the present', but 'it maintains its dignity and repose and tempts the troubled spirit and tortured mind to seek shelter in its vaulted catacombs. There is peace and security and one may even sense a spiritual quality. With the past, the present and the future are inextricably intertwined. It is to the benefit of those to recall past history who have got a past which makes us proud and hopeful for the future'. (Discovery of India, pp. 8, 10).

About the antiquity of Indian civilization no discussion is required. In human history no civilization can claim a greater antiquity than the civilization that developed on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the Indus and the Ganges. The Egyptian calendar commencing in 4241 B. C. indicates the starting point of the Egyptian civilisation at 5000 B. C. according to Gordon Childer, and at 9000 B. C. according to the New Light on the most ancient East (p. 12-13). Of the cultural periods of Mesopotamia, the Ubeid, Uruk

Jemdhī Nasr, the earliest is dated at about 3000 B. C. The beginning of Indian civilisation can be safely dated between B. C. 5000 and 6000. "Herein indeed was laid down the foundation of our domestic, economic, political and spiritual life. Here took place for the first time the cultivation of plants, the domestication of animals, the invention of the ploughs and the wheel, the development of pottery and metallurgy, the advent of writing, the making of textile and other factors of civilisation. The city and village life developed side by side. Every material thing invented since could disappear from the world" as stated by Peaniman in his *Origin of Civilisation* "but the good life would still be possible" (*Antiquity*, June, 1925, p. 96).

Our past achievements are truly the Glories of India, and culture and civilization as interpreted here will justify the title and plan of the present volume. It may also be claimed that no other single extant volume will supply a more compact and correct survey of the subjects in such a small space. It has developed out of the writer's booklet *Elements of Hindu culture and Sanskrit civilization* published in an incomplete form in 1939 hurriedly owing to the outbreak of World War II. In this new and enlarged volume a full chapter (VII) is added containing a short survey of the Indian literature in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit, which is the main source of information for the earlier chapters. This survey is mainly based on the standard and elaborate histories of literature by A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith, M. Wintritz and Dr. B. C. Law, to whom I take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude. Chapter V, dealing with the Basic Arts of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, is based largely on the archaeological description of the three great authorities, viz. James Fergusson, Professor J. Ph. Vogel and Mr. Percy Brown to whom the writer's indebtedness is gratefully acknowledged. Chapter IV on practical sciences of medicine, surgery, chemistry, astronomy and mathematics, etc., has been enriched by a reference to the notable contributions in Bengali by the scientist-politician Dr. P. C. Ghosh. I have also quoted certain thoughtful extracts from the *Discovery of India* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and from the *Homo Sapiens* by the Most Hon'ble the Marquis of Zetland. I expect these references and quotations will inspire the readers as much as they have done the writer.

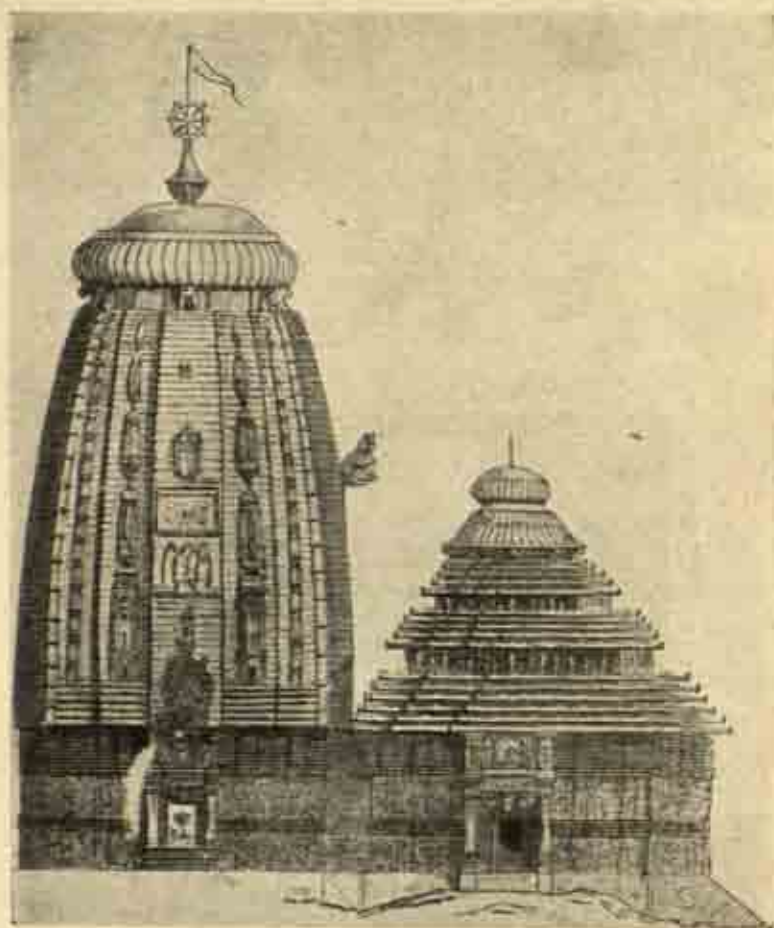
An apology has, however, to be added with regret for various defects with which no other among numerous works of the writer has been published. The printer's devil has done havoc to such an extent that no useful list of the errors was possible to be made. The press which was supplied with paper and an advance for new types when it undertook the work on May 24, 1949, lingered on for three years. During the first two years pages 1-120 only were indifferently printed, of which the proofs were corrected by Shri K. B. Banerji who in disgust gave up the job thereafter. When the writer himself took up the proof-correction from page 121, it became clear that the press was not equipped for the work. The problem for the writer then arose whether the press should be changed or he should await with patience, and the fruits of his strenuous labour for years should be made available, even with all such defects, to the public who had evinced a keen interest in its first already exhausted edition and also in the portions of this revised and enlarged edition published from time to time in several widely read magazines. Friends and admirers insisted by pointing out the fact that readers of several Indian daily papers are used to getting acquainted with the contents despite printing defects, much like a species of swans sucking milk out of a quantity of water mixed with genuine milk, which is a common spectacle among the milk-men as well as all other adulterants of food materials in our present India of absolute freedom. With this expectation this unfortunate publication is reluctantly released from its imprisonment in the press as a long awaited promising child despite all its enforced deformities. Should it, however, be received with an indulgence at our educational institutions also where such subjects should be compulsorily taught and freely discussed if under the spell of secularism India, like Turkey of the past, is not destined to lose its identity in the world civilization and become completely denationalized. If the mere cost of its publication at which this volume is priced be realised quickly a better print in English and a Hindi version may, however, come out before long.

I have to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance from several friends and sympathizers. But for the tactful manipulation by a distinguished pupil friend, Shri S.N. M. Tripathi, M.A., I. A. S., who was fortunately for me

and many others posted here for a short period as the District Magistrate, and without the useful advice I received from a senior advocate of Allahabad High Court, Shri P. M. Varma, M.A., LL.B., and from a distinguished journalist friend, the late lamented R. Saigal, I might have been involved in the meshes of a prolonged litigation. Shri Madan Mohan Nagar, M. A., a pupil-friend and the curator of Lucknow Provincial Museum, supplied photographs for illustrations of Chapter VI on Basic Arts, which he himself revised. Professor K. A. Subrahmaniya Iyer M.A., of Lucknow University, gave me the benefit of his vast learning in revising Chapter VII on the history of literature in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. The learned librarian, Shri B. N. Banerji, M.A., corrected the typed script, and assisted his brother Shri K. B. Banerji in correcting the proofs of the first 120 pages. The former is a life long pupil friend, and the latter is also conversant with Sanskrit texts on which our sacraments and sacrifices (Chapter I) are based. They spared no pains in assisting me even in my dealing with the press. Another successful pupil, Shri Kashinath Dikshit, M.A., I. P., read for his own examinations the typed copy and put in the diacritical marks. Shri Ram Shankar Dwivedi, M.A., and Shri Jai Prakash Srivastava, M.A., two most devoted pupil friends, readily took all sorts of troubles in bringing out this volume. Another pupil, Shri Rama Datta Shukla, M.A., and his learned father Pandit Devi Datta Shukla, who recommended the Press, and Raj Vaidya Shri Sakticharan Roy who is immensely interested in the preservation of our Sanatana Dharma, tried in vain to expedite the printing but have earned my gratitude. Another young friend, Shri Narendra Saigal, B. A., the proprietor of the Karmayogi Press, gave me the benefit of his expert knowledge of publication of books in these difficult days of scarcity and high prices of all materials. Similarly Shri H. P. Ghosh, the manager of the Indian Press, Ltd., assisted me readily by printing the plates and the jacket, and making arrangement for the binding. I shall ever remain grateful to all these friends.

SWASTIKA BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD
May 19, 1952

P. K. ACHARYA



Restored Elevation of Sun Temple at Konarak



Barabudur in Java



Greco Buddhist image of Buddha from *Lahir Bahlol*

CHAPTER I

FAMILY LIFE OF SACRAMENTS AND SACRIFICES

Marriage

The sexes instinctively unite. This natural and necessary union among men and women is known as marriage when it is legalised in some recognised form. Thus normally no question of disunion or disagreement, no squabble of divorce should even arise if the union is correctly formed. The consummate sex-union, known as *śringāra* in Sanskrit, in which the mighty spirit of divine love bursts all bonds and bounds of physico-sensual life, stands forth in all its glory and transforms life to its sweetest immortal essence.

Thus in Hindu mythology the natural conjugality of the self created *Syayambhuva* and *Śatarūpā* (lit. of hundred beautiful forms) coming into existence as a couple illustrates a general principle of life. Similarly *Savitri* is an integral emanation of *Brahmā* and their union is natural. *Svahā* represents the inner igneous power of *Agni* (fire god) and so they are a permanent pair. *V. ruṇi* is the liquid flowing force springing up from the ocean depths of the heart of the presiding deity *Varuṇa* of the ocean, and so they are found in an eternal wedlock. *Vayavi* is the female form assumed by the sweet and soothing power of breeze that resides in the tempestuous power of the wind as the wind god *Vāyu* unites with *Vayavi*. *Manmatha* (lit. churned from the mind) is the divinity of love in its sensuous aspects and he is mated with *Rati*, the feminine spirit of sweet and serene enjoyment. The *Prājāpatis* or the fathers and ancestors of all beings have all their feminine counterparts of life, finely fitted in unto their nature, character and disposition. Thus *Marichi* is united with *Kālī*, *Atri* with *Anusūyā*, *Angiras* with *Śraddhā*, *Pulastya* with *Havirbhā*, *Pulaha* with *Gatī*, *Kratu* with *Kriyā*, *Bhṛigu* with *Khyatī*, *Vasishṭha* with *Arundhatī*, and *Atharvā* with *Sāntī*. *Kasyapa* begot on *Aditi*. *Indra* and other gods brought forth by ten other consorts different lines of progeny. *Indra* got *Śachi* as his queen.

Daksha Prajāpati got Prasuti for his wife by whom he got twenty-seven stars as his daughters.

'The creator or active god lives a life of love and beauty. His life and loveliness are not abstract ideas. The philosophers only relegate Him to an empty abstraction of power and wisdom, justice and truth. This is also the christian conception of an asexual life of the Divine Being with the shining company of sexless attendants, angels, arch angels, seraphs, cherubs, throne, virtues, powers, dominations determined by the monastic ideas of religion'¹.

At the root of the growth of a family is the union between the male and the female. By a natural instinct, the sexes unite and expand. Thereby the continuity of race or species is maintained. By a great ingenuity of the creator this instinctive union is associated with a unique sexual pleasure and mental happiness. It also ensures the fullest growth and self realization of the males and females through their children.

The degree of cultural progress in this union of sexes depends upon the amount of responsibility freely recognised by the father and the mother towards each other as well as towards the children born of such union to counteract the possibility of shirking this free recognition and assumption of responsibility as also to regularise the union marriage-laws were made by all civilized societies. These laws may be mere customs as among the primitives whose motive was selfish and the method was the might as right. The marriage-laws in medieval society were intended to advance the religious bias and ignored the social discipline and the individual and material good. The advanced modern societies by way of combining individual liberty with the social discipline have formulated contradictory laws. The contradictions are due to ignoring the natural laws whereby the females suffer in bearing the child and getting old quicker and also ignoring the moral and spiritual good in addition to social discipline which accrues from not only sexual purity but an all round and everlasting chastity. Thus the marriage-laws may aim at mere personal and sensual satisfaction or purely social good and national advantages, or at a spiritual progress which is facilitated when the male

¹ Vide 'Sex in celestial life' by K. Śāha Kalyāṇ Kalpataru, Vol. XII, No. 4, April, 1940 pp. 418-23.

and the female unite in a complete unit and reach the fullest human growth and the salvation.

Such a marriage is considered as a sacrament (*samskāra*, lit. refinement) among the Hindus. Among the Muslims, Christians and other sects marriage is treated as a contract and as such it is to be registered for a recognition and protection by the state laws of the land. In such a contractual union man and woman are much like the partner of a joint business firm and have the option of separating under certain circumstances. The Hindu marriage being a spiritual union of man and woman needs no registration and permits of no separation. The union is not only life long but it is assumed to last even after one's death. Another fundamental feature of the Hindu marriage is that the nuptial ceremonies bind a man and a woman into a complete being of which one half is man and the other half woman.¹ This romantic ideal is physically represented in the *Ardha-Nariśwara* image of God Śiva and Pārvatī. Such a complete unity develops in modern successful marriage also. But from the view point of culture there can be no higher ideal of marriage than what is aimed at by the Hindu system.

All the eight forms of Hindu marriage, which incidentally cover all the possible forms of union between sexes, are not spiritual in outlook and at the outset. But even the base ones of these forms are ultimately turned into sanctified union. And thereby the social discipline and order are maintained and the spiritual development is re-assured. The illustrations of some of these forms are met with in the Vedic, Epic and Buddhist literature but the regular codification of marriage-laws were made later by the class of literature known as *Grihya Sūtra* and *Smṛiti*. Marriage-laws were compiled by the seers. They were not mere agreements like the present laws formulated by the common or majority consent of the people's representatives. Nor were they dictated by the autocratic monarchs. They, however, evince the inductive method, fruit of deep thinking and free discussion.

1 In *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, Upaniṣad God is said to have divided himself into two portions which became the bride and the bridegroom of :

Sa imeva atmanam dvidha apīṭayat

Tat patīścha patnī cha abhavat

The individual good, social order, political discipline and spiritual perfection were the results aimed at.

The Laws of Manu (III 27-34) and others have thoroughly described the eight forms of Hindu marriage in an order of preference. The first one is called *Brahma* which primarily and expressly aims at the achievement of Brahman or God, that is, salvation through the performance of householder's duties. This may be translated as spiritual. "The gift of a marriageable daughter with suitable dowries is made to a learned man of good conduct whom the father or guardian invites". The union of Śiva and Pārvatī, which is cited as an illustration, shows, however, that the bride herself underwent severe penances in order to secure the affection and companionship of the learned God. The instance of Arundhati and Vasishṭha also indicates a mutual desire of the bride and the groom for an intellectual companionship in addition to partnership of householder's duties. It is therefore considered as an ideal form for all.

In the next, *Daiva* or divine, form of marriage "the gift of a daughter who has been decked with ornaments is made to a priest who duly officiates in a sacrifice during the course of its performance". The competent priest of ancient times was considered as the most promising man of the society having proved his attainments and character by the successful performance of priestly duties, which was the most noble and lucrative profession in ancient societies. Such a groom would be the first choice of the bride and her parents at any time. Such union promises intellectual companionship, economic freedom and an aristocratic social status. This may be illustrated by the marriage of Ohyavana and Richikā and of Indra and Indrāṇī. The latter instance will show its royal character. If no extra emphasis is given to the priestly profession which is as good as any other noble and learned profession this form would look like a modern aristocratic connection.

The *Ārsha* or sagely form derives its significance from *Rishi* (sage) who is usually reluctant to undertake the responsibilities of wedlock and wants to remain free to follow his intellectual pursuits. He is respected for his brain power and character and is expected to beget intellectual children who are an asset of the society. Thus both the bride and her parents desire to have such a bridegroom. The decision of such a groom to enter

into the matrimonial connection is implied by the condition of this form. "The parents of the bride give away their daughter to a sage after receiving from the bridegroom, for the fulfilment of the sacred law, a cow and a bull, or two pairs". It is clear that the cattle given by the groom is not the sale-price of the bride; it merely indicates that the sagely groom has decided to live a householder's life and earn his livelihood by agricultural pursuits. The cattle given to the bride's parents serves both as security and surety. Even if no children are born of such union the sagely temper and the congenial companionship are ensured. The marriage of the sage Agastya and Lopamudrā may be cited as an illustration. This is an ordinary middle class marriage and has no spiritual bias in it.

The fourth commendable form is significantly called *Mānushā* (human) or *Prājāpatya* which expressly aims at children (*prajā*). In contrast to the spiritual, divine, and sagely forms this is the ordinary human union of man and woman solemnized with the express injunction "May both of you perform together your duties". Its main purpose is indicated by its title of *prājāpatya* which implies that the husband and wife should unite for the purpose of giving birth to children. There is an instinctive desire of sexes, the fulfilment of which is emphasized by this form. It also reveals the fundamental nature of Hindu and other marriages, viz., a wife is to be secured to beget a son (or a daughter) in order to perpetuate the householder's duties of offering oblations to the manes, feeding the dependants, guests and the needy beings, and thereby maintain the society and its institutions¹. These four forms are stated to be the normal and laudable ones. *Manu* praises (III 37-42) these forms by saying that the son born of the first form liberates from sin ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself as the twenty-first; the son of the second form saves seven ancestors and seven descendants; the son of the third form three in the ascending and three in the descending lines; and the son of the fourth form six in either line. The children of these four forms are stated to be "endowed with the qualities of beauty and goodness, possessing wealth and fame, obtaining as many enjoyments as they desire and being most righteous they will

1 *Putraḥ kriyate bhāryā putraḥ pindaprayojakāḥ.*

live a hundred years". Thus the laudable marriages are to be judged not only by personal comfort, convenience and happiness of the husband and wife but also by the fruits.

The remaining four are the special forms allowed but not preferred owing to the special circumstances and human weaknesses. The object was to keep up the social order, discipline and equilibrium. But the children of these blamable marriages are stated to be "cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the Veda and the sacred law".

The fifth form is *Āsura* or undivine. According to this form a bridegroom receives a grown up maiden after having given, according to his own will, as much wealth as he can afford to the kinsmen and the bride herself. It implies a sort of elopment and money is paid in settlement of the anger of the bride's people and the security of the bride herself. It may be illustrated by the marriage of *Pāṇdu* and *Mādrī* of the *Mahābhārata* fame.

The *Gāndharva* is the love or romantic form. It is the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover like the *Gāndharvas* who indulge in sexual connection whenever they fall in love. They have no patience to await the sanction of the society. The sexual intercourse which is its only purpose takes place before any rites are observed. It is, however, recognised by the society after the usual rites are performed in order to maintain sexual purity, social peace, and individual harmony. The marriage of *Śakuntalā* and *Duśhyanta* may be cited as an illustration.

The *Rākṣhaśa* or heroic form implies the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries out and weeps after her kinsmen have been slain. The society recognised this highhandedness in order to offer facilities to a hero to accept the abducted maiden as his lawfully married wife after going through the usual ceremonies. This form is illustrated by the abduction of *Subhadrā* by *Arjuna*, and of *Rukmiṇī* by *Kṛiṣṇa*. These marriages proved happy and successful. This is perhaps the reason for the continuance of its formal character in the modern marriage procession of the bridegroom which in some places looks like a military expedition composed of dummy forces and martial music.

The *Paiśācha* or devilish form is the mere molesta-

tion of a girl by stealth when she is in sleep, intoxicated, or in an unbalanced state of intellect. The union of Ushā and Pradyumna may be cited as an illustration. This and Āsura (undivine) forms were considered unlawful even in Manu's time (III 25). The readiness, however, of the state to recognise such outrage as marriage after due performance of usual rites implies the sagacity of the society, because the object was to maintain the sexual purity and social discipline.

These eight forms, it should be noted, display various principles. The first four commendable forms are parent-made alliances but they imply mutual consent. They should be considered as adult marriage for, otherwise, the injunctions and conditions lose their significance altogether. There is hardly any trace of medieval fanaticism about them. They are modern in their dignified outlook and suit the temperament of the members of a civilized society. Of the remaining four Āsura and Pāśācha were considered unlawful even in ancient time. The principle of the former appears to be purchase, but that is fictitious, because the purchase money is returned by the bride's parents to her husband. The latter is brutal violation of the modesty of a girl. Both these clearly imply adult alliance, because unless the girl is sufficiently grown up there would be no inducement to elopement or violation by force. The other two forms, the Gandharva (romantic) and Rakshasa (heroic) are similarly adult union. In the former the immediate purpose is sexual intercourse. In the latter also if the girl be not sufficiently grown up there will be hardly any inducement for abduction and consequent fight. These inferences are in apparent contradiction to the lower ages of marriage prescribed. It seems, however, that the lower limit was fixed to suit the special condition of local application. We shall see later that sacramental rites of the Brāhma form even shows that the bride attained puberty before marriage. The marriage rites are common for all the forms of marriage. As a sacrament the ceremonies commence with the invocation of God's mercy and ancestral blessings by means of prayer and service (śraddha) known as the abhyudayika (progressive) and end with a concluding sacrifice called Kuśāṇḍikā. The intermediate ceremonies comprise the kanyādāna (handing over the bride), pīṅgrahana (acceptance of the bride's hands), āśmarohana (ascending

together the symbolic stone of firmness), and sapta-padi (walking together seven steps). The marriage rites which are illustrated under the Brahma (spiritual) form are common to all the other forms. As a sacrament the nuptial ceremonies, after the negotiation ends at the mutual consent, commence with an initial sacrifice called *kusandiki* in some text, which according to other texts is performed at the conclusion only. The object is to pray for the blessings of gods for the success of the marriage. The first ceremony, as it continues now, is the *nandimukha* service (*śraddha*) which is performed separately by the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom by way of invoking ancestral blessings. The third ceremony consists in giving a hygienic bath to the bridegroom and the bride with powdered turmeric and other fragrant things and is known as *gatra-haridrā* (besmearing the body with turmeric powder). The primary object of this bath is to generate a sex desire in the bride and the bridegroom. In this connection a significant prayer is made to the god of love (*kāmadeva*) by the relation of the bride 'your name is love (*kāma*) but your real epithet is lust (*mada*), may your intoxication (*sura*, lit. wine) bring the bridegroom to the bride, because bride is the source of the fire of sexual desire and the fire is actually produced by the sex connection'.¹ It is further stated that the female sex organ has been created as honey (to attract bees of lover) and that it is the second mouth of the creator: with this the bride overpowers the man and brings under control and lords over everybody². She is asked to satisfy the sex desire of her husband³.

The bridegroom himself after accepting the hands of the bride says that the object of giving and accepting the bride is to satisfy the mutual sex desire (*kāma*) and he promises to carry out that object⁴.

1 *Kāma Veda te nama mado namasi samānyamum sura te abhavat paramatra janāgne tapaso nirmītoṣi svaha.*

2 *Imanta upastha madhuna samśrījāmi
prajāpater mukham etad dvitīyam
tena puṁśobhibhāvāsi sarvaṁ vāśin vāśinyasi
rājū svaha.*

3 *Agnim kravyadam akṛinvan guhānāḥ striṇām upastham
pishayāḥ purāṇas tena iyam akṛinvan
strīṇ sṛṅgāṇ tvastrīm tvayi tad dadhātu svaha*

4 *Ka idam kama adit kamaḥ kamāya
adit kamo datā kamaḥ pratigrahita kamaḥ
samudram avidat k mena tva pratigrihāmi kamaitat te.*

The next ceremony which is the chief one, is known as *sampradāna* (or *kanyādāna*) and consists in completely handing over the bride to the bridegroom. This custom is common among the Christians and the Muslims also, and implies that the bride herself cannot make her over to the man even of her own choice in a sacramental form of marriage. In the absence of the bride's father some one else has to hand her over. According to the Hindu custom the father formally and respectfully receives the bridegroom and asks his consent to choose him formally as bridegroom and asks whether he agrees to perform the duties of the husband of his daughter. The bridegroom formally and publicly assumes the responsibility. He is enjoined to protect and maintain the bride, to appreciate her merits and to forgive her short-comings¹. Thereafter the gift is made by mentioning the names of the fore-fathers of both sides so that there may arise no troubles regarding the identity of the bride and the bridegroom. Along with the bride are given dowries consisting of food, water, beddings, cattle, gold and jewels, and landed property². Then the hands of the bride and bridegroom are tied together and the ends of their nuptial garments are also knotted firmly. This indicates the unification of the bride and bridegroom both physically and as partners. And the union is prayed to be as firm and successful as between Indra and Indrāṇi, Vibhavasū and Svahā, Soma and Rohiṇi, Nala and Damayanti, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhadrā, Vasishṭha and Arundhati, Gauri and Śankara and lastly as between Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmi. Each of these illustrious unions has a special noble feature, all of which are invoked here.

Thus after accepting the bride the bridegroom takes her from the marriage pandal to the inner abode (*pradhāna griha*)³. Therein the nuptial fire for joint

1 Padyadibhir abhyarchya varatvena bhavantaṁ vṛjṇe. Yatha vihitāṁ vara-karma kuru. Yatha jñanāṁ karavaṇi.

Darvāṇi puṣpaṇi phalanchaiva vastraṁ tāmbarāṁ eva cha
Ebhil kanya māya datta rakṣaṇāṁ poṣaṇāṁ kuru
Asyaḥ kanyāya doṣaḥ kṣāntavya-guṇastu grāhyaḥ

2 Bhumiṁ annaṁ jalāṁ śayyaṁ gohiranyaḍikaṁ yantukaṁ
jamatre dadyat.

3 It should be in the husband's house, because according to custom prevalent among some people the ceremonies at bride's house end here. But usual custom is to perform several other ceremonies

sacrifice (*saṁyojaka-agni*) is kindled and established. Around this fire the first promises and agreements between the husband and wife are made. As a token of maintenance throughout the life the husband clothes the wife with two pieces of garment, one for the lower body and the other for the upper. And addressing her respectfully says "Oh, honoured lady, live here happily a hundred years, be glorious and while living enjoy wealth and plenty; do not you be separated from me, stay on here and enjoy universal life (*i.e.* peace and prosperity); you prosper in this house with dear children and be mindful of performing the household duties.¹"

The next ceremony is known as *sapta-padi* (walking together seven steps). As they proceed step by step round the sacrificial fire the husband prays to god for the companionship and co-operation of the wife in gaining at the first step fulfilment of all desires, at the second strength, at the third performance of household duties (the fire sacrifices), at the fourth complete union and identity of purpose (*lit.* friendship), at the fifth cattle, at the sixth wealth, and at the seventh the seven fruits of sacrifices.

Thereafter addressing the bride the husband sums up his promises towards the wife "Oh, beloved you be my comrade in achieving the seven objects (of married life). I promise to become your friend, no other women shall break our union (friendship), and our friendship be the source of all happiness.²"

at the bride's place. Thus description shows later that it took place in her father's house before the bride was taken in a car to her husband's house.

- 1 Śatancha jiva śaradaḥ suvarchcha
 Vasaṇi chānye vibhrijast jivan
 Ihaiva stvaṇ mā vyoṣṭam
 Viśvam ayaṛ vyaśnutam
 Iha pr'yaṇi prajāya te sampriddhyatam
 Asmin grihe garhapatyaya jagrihi.

2 The similar promises are made in Christian form of marriage also, cf.: The priest asks the bridegroom and the bride—
 (a) "Wilt thou love her, comfort her and forsaking others keep thee only unto her?" "I will," says the bridegroom. (b) "Wilt thou have this man? Wilt thou obey him and serve him, love, honour and keep him in sickness and in health?" "I will," says the bride.

Then addressing the visitors and friends he says "All of you together look at this my most auspicious (suman-gali) wife, pray for her great fortune (saubhāgya) before you depart." He also invokes all the Gods. "May gods purify our hearts, may the gods of water, air and creation, unite our two hearts into one (samdadhātu ekikarotu). That is, let us become one by our elements, nature and wisdom. Thus the Hindu wife is not mere sahakarmi (colleague or partner in rearing up children) but she is sahadharmiṇī (co-worker) bearing the most dignified title of Patnī, so called because of her unavoidable association in the performance of all sacrificial rites. In the absence of Sītā, for instance, Rāma Chandra had to get carved a life-like image in gold of his consort in order to perform the horse sacrifice.

After the prayers and promises for the unification of the heart, a physical unification is demonstrated by the ceremony known as the pāṇigrahana (accepting the hands). The husband affectionately clasps with his both palms the hands of the bride and makes six other promises. "As the gods have kindly given me you for the (completion of) household life, I catch hold of your hands as a matter of great fortune; stay on with me till old age." (i. e. death separates us). "Oh my bride always look at me with kind eyes (akrūra, lit. not cruel), be other than hurting your husband (apatighatini), be pleasant to our members of the family and cattle, be of pleasant mind and well balanced power (suvarchas), give birth to heroic children, never miscarry (jivasu), perform the five daily sacrifices (devakāmi pancha-mah-yajñabhi-rata), cause happiness to us and do good to all biped (relations) and quadruped (cattle) of our family". "May the Creator give us (the benefit of) children till old age, may Aryama endow our descendants with great qualities. Oh bride the gods of all good have given me you, therefore you come into your husband's family and do good to the biped and quadruped members of the family". Then the wife demands "may my husband facilitate my entry into his family so that I can settle there happily and peacefully and without having any enemy to face." Agreeing to this and being supported by the wife, who keeps standing touching his right shoulder, the husband prays to the Gods for six items of blessing for her. "May fire bring her children

(*prajā*), may Varuna protect them from death so that she may not have to weep for the illness of her children". "May she perform (jointly with me) the daily sacrifice to the nuptial fire, may her children remain alive and obedient till her old age, may she be never of empty lap (*aśnya-upasthā* without having children on the lap), may she enjoy the happiness of having grand-children." "May the sky god (*dyauh*) protect your back, *Vāyu* and *Aśvinau* your thighs,¹ the creator sun your children of the lap (who live on breast-feeding, *stanandhaya*) upto the age of their putting on clothes, thereafter *Brihaspati* and *Viśvedevā* protect (*i.e.* give intelligence to) them". "May in your house never rise the cry of wailing; the sorrowful weeping women, other than you, be in enemy's house, even if you have to weep may not be it of heart-rending sort, may you adorn the husband's family having your husband alive, and seeing your children happy and prosperous". "Oh my beloved, I shall remove barrenness from you, children's death from you, your death, and all misfortunes from you, and shall transfer them like a (weathered) garland to the enemy". And lastly "Oh god of death, may death be away from us, may freedom from (untimely) death be ours, may death-god give us freedom from fear. Oh death, you go elsewhere, I say this personally to you, do not take away our children and grand children, do not kill our heroic people". These are stated to be the six *ājya* offerings to the fire god made jointly by the husband and wife.

The next ceremony is known as *aśmārohana* or ascending the stone. The wife takes her arms over the shoulders of the husband and the palms are joined together before they ascend upon a stone. The ceremony implies the firm establishment like stone in married life and the joint strength to overcome one's enemy². Then the wife frees her palms and body from those of her husband and independently prays to the fire god: "may my husband live a hundred years, may my relations of husband be prosperous in wealth and children".³ Then the husband prays: "may the god never separate my

1 This probably implies that the wife should keep fit to bear children.

2 *Imam aśmanam roha aśma iva tvam
sthira bhava dvishantam apavadhasva
ma cha tvam dvishataṁ adhaḥ.*

3 *Me patiḥ śataṁ varṣaṁ jīvatu
edhantaṁ jātayo mama.*

wife from my family."¹ "Oh Indra, be pleased to make this bride bear me good children and be loving to her husband and bring forth ten children² and the husband as the eleventh". "Be you the queen of my house ruling over your father-in-law, mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law." Give your heart to my undertaking (vrata), may your heart follow mine (*i.e.* may we feel, think and act in the same way), listen to my words wholeheartedly and willingly (*eka-manas*), may the god of wisdom induce you to be mindful of my interests (*madartha*)".

The next ceremony is known as the Uttara-vivāha (second marriage) which consists in performing a sacrifice and making six other prayers. "May by my final offerings to the fire god (*parāhuti*) be removed (lit

1 Sa imam devo Aryama preto muñchatu mamutah.

2 This tallies wonderfully with Russia's population drive. The Soviet government have placed motherhood in the forefront of the national life. Increased premiums are being paid for child-bearing starting with the third child. Confinement vacations from work are increased to eleven weeks. Food rations are doubled during the last three months of pregnancy and first four months of nursing. The duty and honour of motherhood is spotlighted by creation of "Motherhood Medal" for mothers having five or six children. An order of "Maternity Glory" has been created for mothers with seven, eight or nine children, and an order of "Mother Heroins" for mothers with ten or more children.

On the other hand not merely childless people will be required to pay special taxes amounting to six per cent of their income but parents with only one child will be called upon to contribute one and half per cent of their income and parents with two children one per cent. This will account for the directive of the Hindu legislators regarding sons and successors of as many as thirteen or fourteen kinds *viz.* son begotten on wives of different castes, on widow, adopted—the legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife, the son adopted, the son made, the son secretly born of unknown father, the son cast off (deserted by real parents), the son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, the son bought, the son begotten on a re-married woman, the son self-given and the son of a śūdra female (Manu, IX, 159—160). The importance of the son in the past and in the present time is almost the similar. "Through a son he (father) conquers the worlds, through a son's son he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he gains the world of the sun. Between a son's son and the son of a daughter there exists in this world no difference; for even the son of a daughter saves him in the next world like the son's son". (Manu IX, 137, 139).

set right, *Samayami*) bride's defects (short comings) in the eye-brows, sockets, mouth, in the hair of the head, in the eye-sight, in the shedding of tears, in the conduct and character (*śila*), in the talk, in the smile, in the brightness (*śroka*) of the teeth, in the hands, in the feet; in the thighs, in the sex organ, in the knees, in the joints; and in whatever other undesirable and terrible (*ghora*) things in all your limbs—all be removed"¹.

Thereafter the bride and bridegroom get up and go out and look at the star in the sky, and the bride declares by mentioning her name as the wife of her husband by name, "Oh, the *Dhruva* (fixed) star, as you are fixed up, I am in the like manner permanently settled down to my husband's family; Oh, *Arundhati*, like yourself, I have become attached in body, mind, and words to my husband; I am as fixed up to my husband's family as the sky (*dyauh*), the earth, the whole universe, and all these mountains."² This ceremony concludes with the good wishes of the husband for a full life of the wife. The next ceremony consists in introducing the bride to the regular home life. First the husband and then the wife partake of simple unexciting food (*anna*) as in the course of student life (*brahmacharya*) for three days and nights and sleep together on the ground as indicated in the conception ceremony which is referred to below.

In the course of this feeding ceremony like the clothing one referred to above the husband says, "Now I join you with me by the fetter of food which is the chain of life and soul (*i.e.* which keeps the body and the soul together), as I have already tied your mind and heart by the true knot of marriage; let your heart be mine and my heart yours; thus as food is the bond of life I bind you thereby".

Thereafter by ascending a car the couple go to their own home. The bride is introduced to the family members. Thereafter on the fourth day the couple

¹ In certain modern families where the betrothal is performed at the pre-puberty stage, this second marriage is performed within sixteen days after the first appearance of puberty and this ceremony finally consolidates the union.

² For all practical purposes the heavenly luminaries, the earth, the mountains and the universe appear to the onlookers as fixed up, although astronomically these bodies move in accordance with certain regularity.

perform a sacrifice (chaturthi-homa) by way of physical purification. Thereafter they begin to live as husband and wife in the same bed but without touching each other, as described under the conception ceremony (garbhādhāna) below until they mutually decide to cohabit and beget a child.

These ceremonies with slight changes here and there still prevail all over the country and among all communities and sects of the Hindus. But there are local and sectional differences, not with regard to the basic custom, but with regard to particulars. Thus a general induction is possible regarding the cultural values of these ceremonies and the advanced state of civilization indicated by them.

Under the forms of marriage it has been pointed out that both the bride and bridegroom attained the age of majority before they were married. This conclusion is further supported by the various ceremonies of the pre-nuptial bath and the post-nuptial prohibition of sexual relation. The rules of abstention (brahmacharya) which are to be observed at least for the first four nights after the marriage and the period of student life extending to about twenty-five years for the boys and seventeen or eighteen for the girls lend further support to this point.

The next point of importance to note is that the ideal Hindu form, like all other civilized forms, is still a parent made alliance but not without some consent from the bride. The myth of purchasing the bride under the arsha and the śura forms is entirely fictitious because the so-called purchase money is returned to the bridegroom in the former case and to the bride in the latter. Another point of interest to note is that even in the spiritual form the primary object of marriage is to set up a domestic life, to satisfy natural sex instinct, to beget children, to provide facilities, comfort and convenience not only of the couple but also of all other members of the joint family. The nuptial vows freely made by the husband and the wife, and both expressed and implied promises to stick to each other, not as the master and the slave, but as friends and equal partners clearly indicate the high cultural value and the material benefits of Hindu marriage. In normal case there was no need to provide for divorce and separation, but for abnormal cases of impotency and desertion by the husband and

the barrenness and other defects in the wife suitable provisions were made to meet the situation without injuring the social discipline and the national and spiritual ideals¹.

SACRAMENTS

The sacramental nature of marriage is clear from the nuptial ceremonies described above. The other commonest sacraments follow directly from married life. These vary in number but they are observed in all countries and by all civilized races. Baptism of the Christians, circumcision of the Muslims and initiation of the Hindus are well known and imply the same idea of the formal admission of the child to the particular community and the creed. But the Hindu system looks to the pre-natal and post-natal care of the child, its education and settlement to householder's duties after marriage. Thus the system begins with marriage and should end in marriage. Counted from this point of view they are popularly known as *daśa-saṁskaras* (ten chief sacraments) and comprise *vivaha* (marriage), *garbhadhāna* (conception), *simantonnayana* (parting or up-brushing of hair of wife's head by way of formal announcement of motherhood), *pūṁsavana* (special ceremonies to regulate the sex of the child to be born), *jātakarman* (rites observed on birth to ensure health, long life and good character of the child), *nama-karaṇa* (naming the child), *anna-prāśana* (first feeding of solid food), *chaula-karaṇa* (tonsure or first hair cut), *upanayana* (initiation, lit. sending to school), *veda-vratas* (vows of learning) otherwise known as *brahmacharya* (student's career), and *samāvartana* (home-return after completion of study) and settling down to householder's life after marriage (*vivaha*).

The leading schools of legislators do not, however, agree with regard to the number of sacraments and sacrifices. The schools of Gautama, Aṅgīrasa and

¹ *Nashṭe mṛite pravrajite klīve cha patite patan.*

²

Sacraments and Sacrifices	Gautama School Gṛihya Sutra	Aṅgīrasa School Gṛihya sutra	Aśvalāyan School (Kalpasutra)
1. Garbhadhāna	1	1	1
2. Pūṁsavana	1	1	1

Āśvalāyana differ regarding the total number mentioned in their texts. The treatises of Gautama and Āngirasa belong to the Gṛihya-sūtra class whose business is to deal with sacraments only, and should not encroach upon the field of the Śrautasūtras which deal with sacrifices. The treatise of Āśvalāyana is classed under Kalpa-sūtra which combines the function of the Gṛihya sūtra and Śrautasūtra and may therefore refer to both sacraments and sacrifices. The list of Gautama rightly excludes Viṣṇu-bali and Nishkramaṇa as sacraments. The four Veda-Vratas which are performed by a student in his teacher's house and form the combined duties of the student life (Brahma-charya) should also be excluded from the list of sacraments for which the father is responsible. Thus the sacraments proper are ten in number (daśa-saṃskāra) which are traditionally known even to day. The rest of all the three lists are sacrifices only. Of these sacrifices numbering twenty-six, nine, and nine in the three lists respectively, Mahāyajñas numbering five in Gautama, but unaccountably one in both Āngirasa and Āśvalāyana are but a summary of the householder's duties of the five daily sacrifices. The first one (Brahmayajña) is the recitation of the Gāyatri hymn and as such it is not a

3. Simantonnayana...	1	1	1
4. Jātakarman ...	1	1	1
5. Nama-Karapa ...	1	1	1
6. Viṣṇubali ...	...	1	1
7. Nishkramaṇa ...	...	1	1
8. Annaprasāna ...	1	1	1
9. Chaula (da) Karapa or Karpavedha ...	1	1	1
10. Upanayan ...	1	1	1
11. Vedavrata ...	4	4	4
12. Samavartana ...	1	1	1
13. Vivaha ...	1	1	1
	<hr/> 14	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 16
14. Mahāyajñas ...	5	1	1
15. Parvaṇa śraddha...	...	1	1
16. Havir yajña ...	7	...	...
17. Soma yajña ...	7	...	...
18. Pakayajña ...	7	7	7
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 9

sacrifice proper which has to be done for the benefit of others than the self. The remaining four, *viz.* Devayajña for Gods, Pitrayajña for (deceased) parents and other relations, Manushya yajña for the benefit of the fellow members of the society, and the Bhatayajña for the benefit of the lower beings like animals, birds and insects, are in point of fact detailed under Parvaṇa, Havis, Soma, and Pāka sacrifices. But the Parvaṇa is only one of the varieties of Pāka yajñas only.

Thus there is a good deal of confusion in the treatises themselves, for the removal of which an effort has been made in the following pages.

From mere enumeration of the sacraments it should be clear that they are the demonstration of the responsibilities of married life. The parents who fail to perform the sacraments concerning the child are called by Manu and others as mere begetter (*janaka*) and are likened to animals who beget children for sexual satisfaction only. Unless these responsibilities are duly carried out the parenthood, which is to be honoured by the child as equivalent to heaven, religion and sacred duty¹ is not established. Apart from the economic principle of give-and-take involved in the observance of sacraments, Manu has referred to their hygienic and spiritual value: 'the holy rites prescribed by the Veda and the ceremony on conception and other sacraments sanctify the body and purify from sin in this life and after death (II 26). 'By the study of Veda, by vows, by burnt oblations, by the recitation of the sacred texts, by the acquisition of the threefold sacred science, by offering to the Gods, seers and manes, by the procreation of sons², by the great sacrifices, and by these sacred (*śrauta*) rites this human body is made fit for union with God (Brahman)' (II 28).

1 Pita svargah pita dharmah pita hi paramam tapah
Pitari pritimanne priyante sarvadevatāḥ.

2 Specification of sons as implied by Pūṣṭasavana sacrament does not exclude the daughters. Manu makes the point clear: "This whole series of ceremonies must be performed for females also in order to sanctify the body at the proper time and in the proper order... The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women and to be equal to the initiation, serving the husband equivalent to the residence in the house of the teacher, and the household duties the same as the daily worship of the sacred fire." (Laws of Manu II, 66, 67).

A brief elucidation of the ceremonies is necessary in order to understand the value of these sacraments so far as they concern the personal good, social discipline, economic fairness, national stability, and moral and spiritual outlook. In order to avoid repetition, which occurs in all the texts, duties of the student life and of householder's life will be discussed separately under the category of four āsramas (stages) viz., Brahmacharya, Garhasthya, Vanaprastha, and Sannyāsa. And as the details of the marriage have already been referred to above the sacraments commencing with the conception of the child (garbh dhāna) and its prenatal and post natal care ending at the initiation (upanayana) need an elucidation here. Garbh dhāna is impregnation (Manu, II, 16, 26, 142). The essential rites performed in this connection clearly show that normally the sexual connection between the husband and wife does not take place immediately following the marriage ceremony. "It is the duty of the bridegroom if he wants to cohabit his wife for a child to perform a sacrifice." This is the post-nuptial sacrifice known as Kushandikā to be performed according to rule on the fourth day after the puberty preceding the conception and is, therefore, called the fourth day function (chaturthi-karṇa)¹. This sacrifice concludes with a prayer by the husband: dhātā garbham dadātu te (may the creator enable you to conceive), desiring "a good progeny in general", a son and a learned daughter as one of the texts, expressly mentions (Bṛihad Upanishad 6, 4, 17).

The next rite consists in the removal of the udumbara staff from the nuptial bed, which is placed between the husband and wife in order to prevent physical contact until they decide to cohabit. Before the actual action takes place a further rite is observed. That includes sprinkling of the juice of some plant (adhyanda) or grass (durva) which is stated to help in the progeny. It probably excites the desire for intercourse and may have some medical effect.

This sacrament clearly indicates that there was no primitive selfishness, cruelty or callousness, and mere

1 The present day practice is to perform this sacrifice on the same day or the day following the marriage. This sets the couple at liberty and provides privacy and saves them from unnecessary exposure.

merital right was not enforced. Nor was there any medieval religious bias involved. Care for mutual consent and equal degree of satisfaction implies the modern state of civilization. But the ancient custom transcends modern development because in addition to sexual pleasure the idea of the progeny was not lost sight of and the child to be born was not an unwanted and unavoidable one. At the same time the birth control was ingeniously achieved by the observance of prohibition for several days in the month.

The Pumsavana literally implies the desire for a male child. This is in continuation of the preceding conception ceremony. This sacrament is performed optionally between the third and fourth month of the pregnancy when the sex of the foetus takes a definite shape. This is specifically performed to recure a male child and need not be undertaken if one is equally happy to get a son or a daughter. The leading text (*Bṛihad-āraṇyaka-upanishad*) gives a detailed account of the sacrament for getting a son of which the advantages are described in another sacred text (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 13). In these and other texts "different processes were prescribed for having a son or daughter with particular qualities". *Aśvakyana* (in his *Gṛhyasūtra*) describes the three fold rites, some of which are religious, some magical and some purely medical. They include the initial sacrifice (*homa*) which aims at getting god's blessings. Similar intention is implied by going round the sacrificial fire (*agni-pradakṣiṇa*). The wearing of garlands (*mālādharaṇa*) and the putting of tortoise gall on the lap of the would-be mother (*kūrmapiṭha*) might have some magical effect. Drinking of curds (*dadhi-prāsana*), injection through the nose (*nasta-vidhi*), touching of the belly (*sparśana*) and the fruit bath (*phala-snāna*) are obviously the medical devices. Further a faith-cure is adopted by the ceremonies which include the practice of placing barley grains on the hands of the wife and the declaration by the husband that this is the male organ, that is the testicles etc. of the child to be born and to be constantly thought of by the wife.¹

1 The modern medical science has so far failed to prescribe remedy to regulate the sex of the child to be born and we are sceptic about the ancient prescriptions and have no patience to make an experiment and further develop the ancient scientific methods in the light of the modern medical discoveries.

The next sacrament, *Simanta-unnayana*, literally means the upbrushing of the hair of the head of the mother. This is done by way of a formal declaration of the pregnancy. The hairbrushing is applicable during the first pregnancy only. Another similar ceremony is performed when the bride is taken home after marriage and the husband loosens the knot of the maiden hair (*Aśvalayana*, 1, 7, 18).

The main purpose of this sacrament is, however, indicated by its other designation, *Panchamrita*, five nectar, or more generally *sādha-bhakṣaṇa* which means the fulfilment (lit. eating) of the desires of a pregnant woman. This is generally performed in the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy when the foetus takes shape. The ceremonies include, in addition to the parting of the hair which is the *simanta-unnayana* proper, physical decoration, music, and eating of desired objects in company of friends. The lute playing and singing of heroic songs (*viṇa gayana*) supply the craving for cheerful mind. The putting of the wreath of *udumbara* flowers (of which the plant was originally fixed in the nuptial bed to prevent physical contact) round the wife's neck is indicative of the physical decoration with clothes and ornaments also, which is a natural craving of women. It also indicates the unrestricted company of the husband, which is also an instinctive desire of women. The sipping of water is similarly indicative of eating all nice things especially those which an expectant mother wants to taste. Lastly the looking at the images reflected in water and to declare by the wife to the husband, 'I see sons, cattle, and long life of my husband' imply the perfect mental satisfaction.

The fulfilment of the expectant mothers desires from the time when child takes its physical and mental shape medically prevents the physical deformities and the mental deficiencies of the child to be born. Most of the defects are inherited. The ancient texts offer a probable explanation. In this matter an experiment whenever possible can do only good and no harm.

The post natal care commences with the sacrament known as *Jāta-karman*, the ceremonies performed on the birth of the child. All the texts agree in the main purpose of these ceremonies, *viz.*, the greeting of the child by the father and the transferring of personal influence and

giving a pet or secret name, adopting measures to keep off evils to which the child is prone to, feeding the child and prayer for long life and good health at the end of the preliminary sacrifice. The greeting for transference of personal influence consisting in touching the child's body¹, smelling on the head to prevent bad luck², breathing on the child in order to create brain (medhajananā)³ and reciting prayer for the prosperity of the child⁴. The practice of giving a pet name still continues but formerly it was kept between the parents only. The measures adopted to keep off evils include a bath of the child which is a usual and hygienic practice and does certainly keep off the evil of bad health; tying a gold band round the child's right wrist, the medical or magical intention is to make the child a piece of solid gold (hiragyaṁ aśrutam bhava) so that no base metal can affect it. The next two measures which appear to have some magical effect include the holding of a pot of water over the head of the child and whispering over the ground and the mother to remove evil eye from bad persons, ghosts, demons etc. The father had hardly anything to do with the next ceremony of giving the first feed to the child with honey, clarified butter and mother's breast (stana-pratidāna) which even now-a-days are considered to be the best food for the newly born child.

The prayers form part of the initial sacrifice performed by the father. This sacrifice is significantly called *ayushya*, (that which gives long life) and made to the fire god and sylvan deities for the long life of the

1 The transference of personal influence by touch is recognised in acts like lover's kiss on the lips, friend's handshake, *devōtee's* *pranāma* (obeisance) to the teacher by touching the feet of the latter by the forehead of the former, preceptor's touch by hands on the disciple's body, etc.

2 The act of smelling consists in inhaling to draw into the lungs all the impurities, herein called bad luck, with which the child may be born. The spirit of sacrifice on the part of the father for the good of the child can hardly be nobler than this.

3 The breathing is an exactly opposite action of smelling. By this the father intends to transfer to the child everything good in him especially the brain power as it is specifically stated.

4 The last resort of the father for the good of the child is to pray for God's blessings and mercy.

child¹. It is also addressed to the sun-god, the goddess of learning and the twin gods *Aśvin* to generate brain in the child and known as *medhajanana* (creating of brain) as in the ceremony of breathing over the child referred to above.² And ultimately the prayers specify the following injunction for the physical and intellectual perfection of the child. "Be a stone from limb to limb". "Suck long life, suck old age". "Grow with lustre of fire (*Agni*)". And ultimately the destiny is invoked. "May the deities of day, night, fortnight, month, season, year, old age and death take charge of the child".

This brief account of the birth-ceremonies supplies enough materials to enable one to judge for himself the amount of interest the father used to take for the welfare of the child. Everything possible appears to have been done not under any compulsion but readily and willingly. It was not due to the mere instinctive love for the child. It was neither due to the economic selfish motive of the primitive father in rearing up a child chicken for the Christmas dinner. Nor is it actuated by the desire of the medieval father to keep alive a son in order to perform the oblations in the absence of which the forefathers suffer. It was obviously due to consciousness and recognition by a highly cultured mind of the responsibility of the father in bringing to life a future citizen. The sacrifices and pleasure involved in bringing up a good citizen amount to the discharge of the debt which a civilized man readily owns and owes to the society, to the nation and to the state under whose protection he himself has prospered. And such a nobility on the part of the father is adequately repaid in time by the child to whom the father is the only object of adoration."

1. The hymns include 'Agnir ayushyaḥ
Sa Vanaspatibhir ayushyaḥ
tend tvayushya
Ayushmantam karomi.
2. Medhani tve devaḥ savita
Medhani devi sarasvati
Medhani tve aśvinau devau
Ādhattam pushkara srajam.

3. *Pita svargah, pita dharmah* etc. p 18, note 1. Compare "The teacher (*acharya*) is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher (*upadhyaya*), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father." (Manu, II, 145).

The birth ceremonies are a real sacrament which purifies both the begetter and the begotten in respect of both mental culture and the external civilization. To what extent this noble ideal is reached by the individual member of the modern society is a matter for individual searching of one's heart and action. The state laws to protect the child from callous neglect of the parents give evidence to the discreditable character of the modern society. But no laws can enforce the noble feelings of the ancient father.

The next sacrament is known as the Nama-karapa or naming of the child. The pet name given at birth is secret one for the use of parents only ; but that is now-a-days used by friends also as a token of affection. The proper name is selected on the basis of the name of a sage, deity, or forefather. There are different rules for selecting names for the male child and the female child. Under the influence of the foreign domination, especially over the degenerated imitators, the old national principles have been given up and we see the hybrid combination in our names as in Iqbal Narayana, Ivy-lata, etc.

The ceremonies include the initial sacrifice (homa), naming proper (nama-karapa), tying of a gold band round probably the left wrist (hiranya-bandhana) because the right wrist has already been similarly tied at the birth time, and the similar repetition of touching (*abhimarshana*) and smelling (*avaghrapa*) for the similar purposes of transferring personal influence and removing bad luck of the child.

There appears, however, no personal purification in this sacrament of naming. This shows more a communal interest to retain one's own national principle in the matter of giving a name although a rose may equally be fragrant under any other name.

The next sacrament is Nishkramapa or bringing the child out of the nursery. This ceremony is timed at the third or fourth month after the birth. The object is to get the child introduced and accustomed to the mild light from the moon and strong glare from the tropical sun. This is a necessary precaution and obviously hygienic, because the sudden exposure of the child to the dazzling sun's glare after its residence in the darkness of the mother's womb is likely to injure, incurably in many cases, the eye-sight of the child.

The imperfection and the weakness of the eye-sight is a national loss and is mostly due to the negligence of this early precaution.

The actual ceremonies are brief and simple. They consist in the usual initial sacrifice (*homa*), bringing out the child to the moon first and then to the sun, and finally making prayers to the moon god and the sun god to keep the eye-sight of the child in a perfect condition. After all such precautions for the preservation of the eye-sight, the sacrament of *Anna-prāśana* or feeding of the solid food is performed in order to look after the teeth of the child. It is performed at about the sixth or eighth month after the birth, just before the teething period. The ceremonies include the ancestral worship (*ābhyudayika-śrāddha*), the usual sacrifice (*homa*) and prayers, and touching to the gums of the child the dishes cooked with curds, honey, clarified butter, rice, fish, and flesh of partridge and goat. To these dishes the child is made accustomed to as it grows in age.

The teeth are a more important organ than even the eye-sight. Most of the internal and organic diseases are ascribed by the modern science to the defective teeth. Even the eye-sight itself is stated to be affected by tooth-diseases. The modern practices, particularly of the western variety, begin to spoil the teeth before one goes beyond teens. Between forty and fifty many have to take recourse to the artificial teeth. In Eastern countries, specially among those who continue to follow our ancient custom, there is a large percentage of people who retain the healthy teeth even at the age of eighty. The importance of this sacrament can hardly be exaggerated.

The next sacrament is concerned with measures to protect and enlarge the brain of the child, for which merely god's blessings were invoked at the birth ceremony. This sacrament is known as *chūḍā* or *chaula-karṇa* or tonsure. The operation consists in the cutting of the child's hair on the head for the first time and arranging them in locks called here *chūḍa-karṇa*. The *chūḍa* is the tuft of hair which is left on the head when the rest of it is cut.¹ The practice is seen elsewhere

1 The school of *Vasishṭha* kept the tuft on the right side

also. Only the free born Romans could wear uncut hair, so also the aristocratic Lords of the British society. Similar customs are prevalent among the Slavonic peoples of south Europe and the Indo-Germanic Aryans.

The preservation of the uncut hair in tufts or in whole mass might have been due to the intention of leaving the growing skull undisturbed so that the brain inside may enlarge to its fullest growth. The common practice prevalent among all the aristocratic and brainy people of the world will warrant such a theory. But owing to an exaggerated notion of modern superiority over the ancient, the present civilization has no patience to examine the wisdom of the past. The tonsure ceremonies of the Hindus or Indo-Aryans will, however, clearly show the precautions adopted in ancient India to leave the growing brain undisturbed.

The ceremonies comprise a preliminary oblation, mixing of hot and cold water, rubbing of tepid water over the head, smearing of butter on the hair to be cut, putting of sharp kuśa grass on the hair, pressing of the razor on the hair and then cutting the hair and bathing after the haircut. The wiping of the razor and putting of the cut hair into cowdung are the two subsequent functions.

If our reasonable surmise be correct the great importance of this sacrament can easily be realised. After the ocular and dental treatment the intellectual treatment completes the necessary precautions for the physical and the intellectual well-being of the child. This will further vindicate the cultural level and the civilized condition of the Hindus in the matter of bringing up a child.

After the building up of a healthy constitution and sharp intellect, attention is devoted to the education of the child in an atmosphere of quiet simplicity and affectionate discipline. For this purpose the sacrament of upanayana or bringing the child to a selected teacher is adopted. As this sacrament takes place along with the ceremony of putting on the child by the father

and of Atri and Kaśyapa on both sides. The descendants of Aṅgiras kept five tufts. But the school of Bhrigu kept no tuft and clean shaved the head.

the yajñopavita or the "sacred chord of the free man" and furnishing it with the student's outfit and uniform, viz, *vastra* (clothes comprising under garment and scarf), *ajina* (skin cover), *daṇḍa* (staff implying self protection equipments) and *mekhalā* (girdle) implying strength the upanayana is, otherwise, known as only the sacred thread ceremony. This was a common practice among the other ancient sects also. The Parsees put on sacred shirt, the Buddhists on yellow cover, and the Christians on white robe. The Hindus adopted the "thread garment" probably owing to the hot climate and desire to prevent the rise of a sense of luxury as stated in one of the texts (*Saṃskāra Ratnamālā*, pp 189, 190). According to another older text, the laws of *Hārita*, women also could take a similar course of study with the accomplishment of the same ceremonies.

The ceremonies of the upanayana proper include *añjali-pūraṇa* (filling the joint palm in the form of cup with water by way of showing the child's desire to initiation), *aśmārohaṇa* (ascending a piece of stone to show the firm stand and determination), *dadhīpraśana* (eating of curd in order to clear up the mind), *hastagrahaṇa* or upanayana (bringing the child's hand to the teacher), *paridāna* (giving over the child by parents) and *svikaraṇa* (the mutual acceptance by the pupil and admission by the teacher). The other ceremonies form part of the student's vow of learning¹ and have been inadvertently mixed up with the upanayana which should end at handing over the child to the teacher.

This brings the child to his second birth (*dvijatva*). At this birth the famous *Sāvitrī* verse upon which the twice-born (*Brāhmaṇa*) have to meditate daily,² is considered to be the mother and the *Āchārya* (teacher) is the father (*Manu*, II. 170). This really implies that henceforward the responsibilities of shaping a career are transferred from the begetters to the student himself and to the teacher under whose charge the child is placed. Thus with the upanayana or initiation end the ten principal sacraments for which the parents are directly responsible.

1 They are referred to under the *Brahmacharya*.

2 *Rig Veda* III, 62,10.

ĀSRAMAS STUDENT-LIFE

The career of a student (*brahmachārin*) is the first of the four stages into which the whole living period of a hundred years is divided. The studentship commences immediately after the *upanayana* or initiation at the age of eight to twelve years according to the capacity of the child to get the benefit of the residence at a boarding school. The minimum period of study is stated to be twelve years but it may extend to forty-eight years and may cover the whole life. Usually, however, the *samāvartana* or home-returning takes place at about the twenty-fifth year, the next twenty-five years being allotted to the householder's life (*gārhas-thya*), the third twenty-five years to the selfless national service (*vānaprastha*), and the last twenty-five years to the detached renunciation (*sannyāsa*).

The ceremonies following the *paridāna* (handing over of the child to the teacher) comprise the *nāma-prichhā* (asking the name of the child by the teacher by way of an introduction), *āditya-darśana* (showing the sun by way of an ideal of knowledge which is implied in the *Sāvitrī* verse), and *agni-pradakṣiṇa* (going together round the sacrificial fire by way of a fellowship). Thereafter commences the teaching proper beginning with the ceremonies of *Brahmacharya-upadeśa* (precepts of student's life), *Sāvitrī* (teaching of the chief hymn on which the student is to meditate daily), and *samidh-ādhāna* (teaching the performance of daily sacrifice by the student himself).

Before the precepts are delivered the teacher ties the girdle (*mekhalā*) round the waist of the pupil and hands over the staff (*daṇḍa*) to him. These articles of student's uniform complete the initiation ceremony. Thereafter the teacher addresses the pupil and explains to him the general rules of studentship. The student takes the oath by sipping water and promises 'not to sleep at day time, to remain obedient to the teacher, to study regularly (A. 1, 22, 2; S. 2, 4, 5; P. 2, 3, 2; Ka. 2, 4), to lay firewood on the fire, that is, to perform the daily sacrifice (B. 2, 5, 45; Bh. 1, 9), and to earn his livelihood during the course of his study.'¹


¹ The concluding item of the *upanayana* ceremony consists in begging, after the father has given during the course of the

Further elucidation of the rules of conduct prescribed by all the leading texts are classified under the Veda-vratas (vows of acquiring knowledge) which, as has already been pointed out, are counted as a separate sacrament by all the three leading schools of Gautama, Angiras and Āśvalāyana. The Veda-vrata it should be noted, is almost synonymous with Brahma-charya. The vow (vrata) is equivalent to charya (conduct). And Veda (knowledge) is Brahman (God) when of all knowledge the chief one is to know god. This is considered to be the ultimate aim (purushārtha) of all knowledge although the material advantages of gaining knowledge of all sciences and arts were always emphasised by Hindu legislators as will be shown by the courses of study followed and the varieties of literature which still exist.

These vows are specified by the school of Gautama under four categories which combine all the general rules of conduct to be observed by a student. The first vow is on the strict observance of celibacy and sexual chastity both in thought and in action. Thus all things that are likely to excite the mind or body are avoided. Although under certain circumstance sports, music and dancing, etc., of boys and girls together at the University stage as shown in the curriculum of the Nālandā University were permitted, it was, however, avoided at the earlier school stage. Anointing including the use of perfume, powder, lipstick, etc., were similarly prohibited.

The second vow of simplicity in food and clothes is a further precaution to turn up a really educated and unsophisticated member of the society. Students of all ranks had to put on the same uniform and take the same food. This practice at the most impressionable age generated a sense of equality, fraternity

ceremonies all things necessary for a student including clothes, umbrella, shoes, etc. According to most of the texts (e.g. A. 1, 22, 6) the student begs to meet the cost of his education. Friends and relations also make similar gifts (in money or kind at this ceremony B. 2, 5, 48). Besides the State provides sufficient grants for the maintenance of one teacher homeschools to which the occasional visitors also make liberal grants. Thus only in very exceptional cases the students have to earn their livelihood by professional begging. This initial injunction by the teacher is intended as a safeguard to the teacher.



and independence. So the snobbery resulting in superiority complex was not imbibed from the class-room as is unfortunately the case in our modern system.

The third vow of perfect obedience to the teacher used to give rise to another trait of our character whereby a perfect discipline in the society could be maintained. Those who are not properly trained to obey can never learn to rule properly. This obedience, however, is not equivalent to slavery. Free discussion in order to remove difficulties was allowed between the teacher and the pupil. In fact the system of debate nowhere better developed than among the sanskrit scholars. This obedience was intended to avoid the spirit of impertinence. In fact the devoted Hindu students submit to the teacher's view as an authority in itself requiring no further reasoning.

The fourth is the chief vow of acquiring knowledge. The process is twofold and includes self exertion and seeking of god's mercy. The prayer falls under two heads, the performance of the daily sacrifice and meditation upon the Sāvitrī hymn. When a log of wood soaked in clarified butter is put into the blazing fire and the flame appears before the eyes the devotee prays thus: "I have thrown a samidh (log of wood) into the jata-vedas (that which creates knowledge, fire) increase with that, Oh Agni (fire, intelligence) as we increase with Brahman (knowledge, God); I smear myself with lustre; may the fire put intelligence into me, progeny into me, and lustre in me". No higher prayer for a seeker of knowledge is conceivable. The Sāvitrī hymn itself expresses the similar idea in a broader form: "May my powers of understanding be expanded, I pray for that excellent enlightening glory of the all-creating sun-God".¹ In other words the student prays for that kind of light as coming from the sun removes all darkness of the world. The real object of our general education is indeed to acquire through the study of arts or science, or both, the power of understanding and enlightenment in all matters.

As has been already pointed out, the first twenty-five years of one's average life of a hundred

¹ Savitur varenyo bhargo devasya dhimahi dhiyo yo nah pra-chodayat (Rigved. III, 62, 10)

years are devoted to the education and study. It is laid down in several texts and the custom still continues that the education commences in the sixth year of the child with the ceremony of learning alphabets both in reading and writing with a piece of chalk. This primary education is carried out at home for a period of three or four years. At the age of eight or nine years the child is sent out for the minimum period of twelve years. Thus at the age of about twenty years the secondary education is completed. Thereafter a period of five years is spent at the University for higher study and in acquiring professional skill not only in priestcraft but also in professions like medicine and surgery. Those who intend to prosecute further study and research may continue till the forty-eighth year. But one must marry before the appearance of grey hair generally after the age of forty-eight.

Incidentally a brief reference may be made to the courses of study at the primary, secondary, and university stages.¹ Generally after learning the alphabet at home boys were introduced at primary school to Śabda-vidyā (learning of words) which literally means phonology and implies mainly grammar. The object was to impress at the outset upon the boy's mind "the idea of scientific method, order, principle and system of rule." Through the study of grammar, the inevitable cramming of the rules of grammar, however, might have injured the raw brain and created a distaste for study. But the ancients contrary to the fourth vow of studentship to understand things laid greater importance to memorising than to understanding of all subjects.²

After acquiring the necessary knowledge of language and literature following the study of grammar one had to study the Hetuvidyā or logic which develops the reasoning faculty, and Śilpavidyā or science of arts

1 There appears to have been some 84,000 primary schools at the time of King Aśoka (vide *Bauddhapittha* by S. Barua p. ix). There were big secondary colleges at Bodhi-Gaya, Sanchi, Bharhut, Sravasti, Kausambi, Sarnath, Mathura, Nasika, Amaravati, Nagarjunikunda, Jagayyaketa, Kanchipura, Kaneripeta, Madura and other places. There were wellknown universities of Taxila in the north-west Valabhi in Gujarat in the west, Nalanda and Vikramaśīla in Bihar, and Odantapuri, Jagaddala, Somapuri and Vikramaśīla in Bengal.

2 *Āvṛtitiḥ sarva-śāstrāṇāṃ bodhādapi gariyasi.*

and crafts which inculcates in students an aesthetic sense and practical skill in construction regarding symmetry, proportion, and beauty. After this general education students were taught some professional and technical subjects like the *Āyurveda* or *chikitsa-vidyā* (medicine and surgery), astronomy, mathematics, *Astra-vidyā* (archery) or *Dhanurveda* (bowmanship), *Smṛitiśāstras*, *Arthaśāstras*, etc. The usual number of *Vidyas* (subjects of learning) were fourteen including the four *Vedas* (scriptures), *angas* (*sikshā*, *kalpa*, *nirukta*, *chhandas*, *vyākaraṇa* and *grammar*), *dharma* (rules of conduct) *mīmāṃsā* (theology), *tarka* or *nyāya* (logic) and *purāṇas* (history and mythology). Although theology was a compulsory subject even at the university stage the *adhyātma vidyā* (philosophy or science of universal soul for the attainment of the supreme knowledge) could be taken up only by a few specially endowed with necessary inclination and attainments.¹

'Physical exercises were included in the curriculum not merely to provide diversion from serious study but with an express object of keeping the body and mind of the scholar fit'.²

1 Mr. H. D. Sankalia in his 'University of Nalanda' has drawn up a time table from the ancient texts. At the primary stage boys learnt alphabets at the age of 6 years, elementary grammar and *Siddha* composition at 8, *sātras* of *Pāṇini* at 10, books on three *Khilas* including details of grammar and composition at 13, "laws of the universe and regulations of gods and men" including elementary sciences, history, and mythology at 15, "Composition in verse and prose" at 16, for four years logic, metaphysics, *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, at 20 specialization in one of the professional *vidyās* like medicine etc. and at 23 for two years some research work and art of writing and new approach to a subject.

2 A list of games from the *chullavagga* (1, 13, 2) has been quoted which includes besides dancing with ladies, "games with eight pieces and ten pieces, tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substance from a heap without shaking the remainder; games of dice and trapball; sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs, tinkling, farming, mimic windmills, shooting marbles with fingers, guessing measures, having chariot races and archery matches, guessing other people's thoughts and mimicking other people's acts, elephant-riding, horse-riding, carriage driving and swordmanship; to run to and fro in front of horses and in front of carriages, to exhibit signs of anger, to wring hands and to wrestle, and to box with fists; and spreading out robes as a stage and inviting girls saying 'here you may dance, sister and greeting her with applause'".

The aim of education was "to unfold the capacities of the student through proper means in order to make his life full of meaning for him as well as for the society"¹. The vows of Brahmacharya laid the foundation of all round education, material, mental and moral. The results of the curriculum are shown by the wide range of extant literature in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit², and an all round progress made by the Hindus in their social, political, and moral life to which references are made in the following chapters.

The Samāvartana (home-return) is considered as a separate sacrament. The only ceremony referred to is, however, merely a bath. It corresponds to the present day convocation ceremony. But the bath seems to provide an opportunity for pilgrimage or sight-seeing which aims at offering an opportunity to gain an experience of men and things. Thus well equipped the students return home and marry at their own responsibility as is clearly shown by the forms of marriage referred to above.

Household life in ancestral home.

The second Āśrama or period of life covering the age from twenty-six to fifty years is known as Gṛhasthya (householder's life). It commences with the marriage shortly after the home-return (samāvartana) after the completion of study and travel as pointed out above. The young graduate marries according to his own choice. The four normal forms of marriage, as already explained, satisfy the ideal and requirements of the bachelors of all inclination which must have developed during the course of their study and travel. Whichever form—spiritual (brahma), divine (daiva), sagely (arsha) or human (manusha)—one chooses in getting a partner of his household life, he is required to perform jointly with his wife certain periodical social and public duties in addition to the private and personal duties towards husband and wife and towards the children. The duties other than the personal ones are significantly called

1. For further elucidation see the writers' article 'universities of India' Allahabad University Studies 1935-6, pp. 51-61, Twentieth century, July, 1935, Modern Review, August 1935, pp. 209-210).

2. See Para I. p. 28.

sacrifices (*yajñas*) of various kinds. Those which are performed in a small scale as a daily routine are known as five common (but great) sacrifices; the other done occasionally are known as *pāka*, *pārvana*, *Havis* and *Soma*. On the basis of the special objects of offering the sacrifices are classified as *Anna-yajña*, *Soma-yajña* and *Paśu-yajña* where the chief objects of offering are respectively grains (*anna*), wine (*soma*) and flesh (*paśu*). Thus the combined duties of Householder are the sacraments and the sacrifices.

The parental duties towards the children have been elaborated under the pre-natal and post-natal sacraments commencing with the conception (*garbhādhāna*) and ending at the initiation (*upanayana*). The other conjugal duties are elaborated under the marriage ceremonies (*vivaha*). The members of the family for whose maintenance, comfort and convenience the head of the family is responsible include, in addition to the wife and children as *Kaṇṭhya* has specified (*Arthasastra* Book II, Chap. I, 48) mother, father, minor brothers, unmarried sisters, widowed and helpless girls. The wives and children of the helpless brother and sisters as also servants are considered as members of a joint family. The conditions of living in a joint families are fourfold. The members of these several family forming one joint family are required to live in the same abode or premises, to partake of the food cooked in the same kitchen, to share the common property and to profess the same faith and religion. On behalf of the members the head of the family accepts and despatches invitation, conducts law-suits, and performs all other duties of a solicitor. He has to be obeyed by all the members and in return for that he must be strictly impartial. He is compelled to resign if he fails in his duties and obligations. Similarly an undesirable member may be turned out of the family. His wife acts on his behalf in looking after the female members and household duties. The head of the family is also the owner of the family property. But the individual members can possess not only cattle, weapons and jewels, but even land. Each father forming the joint family has the right to distribute his goods among his children, and land in particular may be distributed differently in successive generations. The growth of the apparently cumbrous system of a combination of several families was

necessitated by the exigency of the Aryan migration and settlement in India. The mutual safety and security of the early settlers were well provided by the assemblage of a number of homogeneous families with a clear understanding and advantages. The benefits of living in a large family include the safety and security of all the members. For the good of a single member the whole family fights against an enemy, a disease or disability. This system further generated the habit of accommodating oneself for the common weal and peacefully gave rise to the benevolent monarchical system in the field of economics, politics and religion. The system of joint family indicates clearly the germ of the individual liberty under the sovereignty of the head of a state, which is the chief aim of the modern civilized form of government. The generous cultural condition of the mind is also clearly indicated by this system. The smaller selfishness, not exactly of the primitive type, involved in the system of single family consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children, began to make its appearance along with the expansion of the society and the firmly established system of government and mostly in imitation of the foreign custom with certain obvious advantages of personal enjoyment of a couple.

SACRIFICES

The social and public duties of the householder come under two categories, daily and occasional. They are described under four groups of sacrifices (yajña) in the true sense of the term.

The first group of five comprises the *Brahma-yajña*, *Deva-yajña*, *Pitri-yajña*, *Manushya-yajña*, and *Bhūta-yajña*. The first of these is a mere prayer made by the recitation of the *Savitri* hymn which is designated here by the generic epithet of *brahma* which means the vedic hymn. The *savitri* hymn to which one is first initiated at the initiation (*upanayana*) sacrament and on which one has to meditate during the whole course of the student life is continued to the househo'd life. As has already been explained it provides one with the

1. *Adhyapanam brahma-yajñam pitri-yajñastu tarpanam* Homo devo bahir bhūto nri-yajño'tithi-pojanam.

strength of mind which naturally follows from seeking god's mercy to get the enlightening excellent lustre of the all-creating sun god and the power of intelligence and understanding for the successful performance of a house-holder's responsible duties of various kinds.

Next to this highest creator, the gods who are the manifestations of the various aspects of the creator are prayed by making the offering of melted butter to the fire, the carrier of oblations. This offering is made jointly by the husband and wife as long as they are alive and able to keep alive the nuptial fire. When one of the couple dies this nuptial fire is used in burning the dead body. The romantic idea of joint daily duty of a married couple can hardly be better demonstrated. The details of this deva-yajña or sacrifices to god are elaborated under the Pāka, Havis and Soma sacrifices.

The Pitṛi-Yajñas are the oblations (tarpaṇa) of water and offering of cooked and uncooked food made daily to the manes or spirits of the deceased ancestors. This is an instance of the habit of ancestral worship. One who cannot discharge one's debt to his parents by remembering and invoking them in this manner can hardly think of the creator of everything. In fact the faith in God starts from such practice of parental worship. Besides the performance of the daily oblation significantly called tarpaṇa or the deed which gives pleasure (to the forefathers) includes various kinds of śrāddhas or gifts made to the manes, the priests, and the needy out of śrāddhā or esteem for the deceased ancestors on the death, daily, monthly, annually, and on special occasions. The details of these sacrifices are elaborated especially under Pāka-yajñas.

The householder is enjoined, as a purification,¹ to perform the funeral ceremony of the parents and family members. The antyeshṭi (lit. the last sacrifice) is performed at the time of burning the dead body. Thereafter until the period of funeral impurities (aśauca) is over on the tenth day after death in case of Brahmanas, the fifteenth day in case of Kshatriyas, the twentieth day in case of Vaiśyas, and the thirtieth

1. The funeral rites are not reckoned as sacrament by the school of Gautama

day in case of śudras, a daily oblation is made. The process consists in an offering from bamboo vessels which are kept standing in a river or a pond close to the funeral pyre and filled with milk and water. Along with this daily oblation offering is also made to the spirit of the dead (preta) of sanctified rice-balls known as paraka piṇḍa (food that fills up). This is aimed at joining up (pāraka) a sort of limbs like the arms, legs, head, etc., to the limbless and floating (vāyubhūta) spirit in order to transform it into a man or father (pitṛi). Until the disintegrated spirit assumes the position of man it is not entitled to share the offerings made periodically and on special occasions to the forefathers. Those for whom these funeral ceremonies (antyeṣṭi) are not duly performed remain as floating and evil spirits (preta) and haunt the blood relations (sapinḍas) whose duty and privilege are to give shelter to the dead and inherit his earthly property in return. Thus the funeral rite "feeds the ghost and prevents it from dying again or dissolving." The physical continuity of the soul after the death and decay of the body is maintained in this way in Hindu belief.

After this antyeṣṭi the first regular service (śrāddha) done for the dead is known as ekoddiṣṭa which takes place on the eleventh day in case of Brāhmaṇas, sixteenth day in case of Kṣhatriyas, twenty-first day in case of Vaiśyas, and thirty-first day in case of śudras. During the first year after death similar services are performed at the interval of a fortnight (pakṣikaśrāddha) or a month (māsikaśrāddha), or two months (dvai-māsika) or three months (traimāsika). At the end of the first year a special service is performed which is known as sapinḍikarāṇa (joining up the spirits). Until this is performed an individual spirit cannot enter into the family of the blood relations (sapinḍa) of the manes (pitṛi). This family group of manes is entitled to share the service made to any member by the relations left behind. These services are funeral rites proper. Thereafter annual services (vatsarika śrāddha) are performed on the anniversary of the death. As a year of the mortal is equal to a day of the immortal, the spirits get the daily offerings in this way.

These special occasional services are of two varieties. The parvāṇa-śrāddhas are performed at the time of parvāṇa or special occasion such as pilgrimage, eclipse

etc. The other group is known as *kāmya* (desired), *ābhyudayika* (prosperous) and *viddhi* (progressive) and are performed on the occasion of some joyous ceremony such as marriage and post-natal sacraments.

The invocation of the ancestors along with prayers for god's mercy imply a noble state of cultural belief and a civilized form of gratitude to those who do not formally make demand for the discharge of one's debt.

The fourth of the householder's daily sacrifice is known as *Mānusha-yajña* (charity towards human beings). This is the daily hospitality to be shown to guests other than the relations who form the joint family. These guests are generally *Brahmaṇa* travellers (*parivrajaka*), Buddhist monks (*śramanas*), Jaina mendicants (*śivikas*) and such other religion-seekers and helpless beggars who do not earn for their own maintenance. Thus the individual families of house-holders served as a sort of alms houses and charitable homes and relieved the state of the responsibility of making separate provision for such people. It is emphasised that all the four *āśramas* (students, householders, retired people and mendicants) could exist because of these daily sacrifices of the householders; they are like air without which no creature can sustain life.¹ No easier solution of the problem of feeding the un-earning people can be thought of. The institution of *dharmaśāla* (charitable homes) appears to have grown out of foreign imitation by the well-to-do people. But this does not exonerate the house-holder, rich or poor, from the duty of showing hospitality to mankind as a daily routine work. Thus at the *Pāka*, *Havis* and *Soma* sacrifices the feeding of the invited and uninvited guests and hospitality towards mankind is invariably an essential function of which further details will be found under those sacrifices.

The last of the great five sacrifices is known as *Bhūta-yajña* (charity towards animals, birds, and insects). The object is to offer food daily to all created beings including cows, bulls, tame birds, ants and insects.²

1. *Yatha vayam saṁśritya vartante sarve jantavaḥ.
Tatha grīhasthāṁ śritya vartante sarve āśramaḥ.*

2. These five sacrifices *Brahma*, *Deva*, *Pitṛi*, *Manushya*, and *Bhūta*—are otherwise known respectively as *Āhuta*, *Huta*, *Prahuta*, *Brahma.huta* and *Prasūta* (*Manu*, III. 73); elsewhere they are called *Vaisvadeva*, *Homa*, *Balikarman*, *Nitya-śraddha*, and *Atithi.bhojana*.

Along with all the Pāka, Havis and Soma sacrifices this function is also observed.

The house-holder is expected to respect life wherever it may be and to assist in the continuance of god's creation. The philosophical idea involved in this custom is praiseworthy. But it does not offer any solution of the problem that the stronger life lives on the weaker ones. If the life in animals, birds, and insects has to be respected why the life in plants and vegetation on which even the vegetarian have to live should be neglected. The scientists have shown that plants have not only life but also sensation like the animals. The system, however, seems to provide an easy means to avoid cruelty to animals. It indicates the natural compassion of a cultured mind and the generous act of the civilized people.

There are three other sets of sacrifices (yajñas) included in the lists quoted above, which are performed by the householder periodically and on special occasions. According to the school of Gautama, Angirasa, and Āśvalāyana the first group, known as Pāka-yajña comprise seven varieties. The other two sets, namely, Havir-yajñas and Soma-yajñas, are excluded by the two later schools but are included in the list by Gautama and described under seven varieties each. The Pāka-yajñas are properly the offering of the cooked (pāka) food to the manes and as such would be an extension or elaboration of pitṛi-yajña which is one of the five great daily sacrifices prescribed for the house-holder. The Havir-yajñas are the offering of melted butter (havis) to the fire for the gods. As such it would be an elaboration of the deva-yajña which is also one of the five great sacrifices performed by the house-holder daily as a compulsory duty. The Soma-yajñas are the great festivities to be held by the rich people only, once or twice and not more than thrice during the whole of the house-holders' career of twenty-five years. At this festivity intoxicant juice of soma plant, which is a kind of wine, was freely offered and drunk both by the

Paraaskara (Grihyasatra, VI, 1, 4, 1) explains huta as the sacrifice in the morning and evening, ahuta as pilgrimage to holy places, prahuta as feeding birds of sacrificed food, and praśita as feeding Brahmanas, Āśvalāyana. G. S. II, 3) explains huta as parvana śraddha, prahuta as recitation of vedas, brahmahuta as feeding of the guest,

invited guests and the uninvited visitors. The giving of alms and feeding of the poor and the lower being forms part of all the sacrifices. Thus the *Mānusha-yajña* and *Bhūta-yajñas* are more elaborately performed along with the *Paka*, *Havis*, and *Soma* sacrifices. *Paka-yajñas* or offerings not only of cooked (*paka*) food, but also of husked rice, cakes, etc. as well as clarified butter and even flesh are sacrificed to the fire.¹ These are offered both to the manes (*pitṛi*) as well as to the gods (*deva*). The seven varieties of this sacrifice are known as *Śrāddha* or *piṇḍadāna*. The *Ashtaka* which is performed on the eighth day of the black fortnight of the months of *Pausha* (January and February), *Magha* (February-March) and *Phalguna* (March-April) *Parvana* at every full and new moon day: *Śrāvani* at the full moon of *Śrāvana* (July and August) and the offerings specially made to snakes which become prevalent at that time, and also to the fire (*agni*); *Āśvayujī* on the full moon day of *Āśvina* (September and October); herein offerings of cooked food are made to god *Śiva* under the names *Paśupati*, *Śiva*, *Śankara* and *Prīṣṭaka*; *Agrahayani* or *Nava-yajña* on the full moon day of the month of the year, *Marga śirsha* (November-December); herein offerings of milk and new rice is made to the gods *Indra*, *Agni* and others; and *chaitri* on the full moon day of *chaitra* (March-April); herein offerings are made to the god *Vishṇu*, *Brahmanas* and relations (*sapindas*) are specially fed on this occasion.² Three more sacrifices are added to this list which are known as *sitā* for offerings to the ploughed furrow (*sitā*); *Indra* on full moon day of *Bhādrapada* (August and September) is specially invoked: *Śūlagava* or *Isānabali* on the full moon of *Mārga-śirsha* (November and December) wherein the flesh of ox (*gava*) and cooked rice are offered to the god *Isāna* (*Śiva*).³

1. The fire is collectively known as *grihya* because the householder kindled it at the time of marriage at the bride's house and transferred permanently to his own house for his daily sacrifice. The four varieties of this *agni* (fire) known as *avasthya* (established), *aupāsana* (for prayer), and *laukika* (customary) or *smaria* (traditional).

2. *Gautama* VIII, 19; *Āśv.* 1; *Para* 11, 14; *Gobhil*, III, 1, L23; *Sank.* iv, 15; *Bhar* II, 1; *Ap.* XVIII, 5, 12.

3. *Valk* iv, 3, *Gobh.* IV, 4, 27; *Para.* II 5, *Baudhayana* G, *satra* 11, 7,

The first group of the seven or ten Paka sacrifices is of special importance to the householder and is invariably performed by all Hindus even at present. Another reason for its performance is that the succession to ancestral property depends on the performance of the occasional service (*śrāddha*) to the forefathers. These services (*śrāddha*) rather than sacrifices are described under two sets known significantly as *Aśrumukha* (mourning) on the sad occasion of death as well as periodically and *Nāndimukha* (rejoicing) on the happy occasion of marriage, first feeding of the child (*anna-prāśana*) and initiation (*upanayana*), etc.

The first of mourning services (*śrāddha*) is known as *anyeshṭi* or the last service performed at the time of burning the dead body. The second known as *ekoddishṭa* is performed after a period of mourning or the funeral impurities lasting ten days for *Brāhmaṇas*, fourteen for *Kshatriyas*, twenty for *Vaiśyas*, and thirty for *Śūdras*. The third is called *māsika* (monthly) because it is performed on the day of death every month for the first year only. The fourth funeral service is known as *sapindikarāṇa* which is performed on the first anniversary of the death in order to bring to the family of the manes (*pitṛi*) the spirit of the one who died a year ago; without this one has to remain excommunicated.

These funeral rites "feed the ghost and prevents it from dying again or dissolving. The offerings made secure for the dead non-redeath (*amṛita*)". Thus for the "cult to be kept up for ever" the fifth variety known as *Vātsarika śrāddha* or annual service is performed on the anniversary of death. For this essential work a male descendant is necessary for all Hindu fathers. Thus in the absence of a naturally born son the Hindu father was provided to have one of the thirteen or fourteen kinds of male descendants as specified above.

The rejoicing services (*nāndimukha*) are variously called as *kāmya* (invoking blessings of ancestors) *abhyudayika* (for prosperity), and *vṛiddhi* (for progress). For achieving success (*kama*) in household life for instance the *Kāmya* service may fittingly be performed at the time of the marriage. Similarly for the progress

of the child the Viddhi service may be performed at the time of the first feeding (*annaprāśana*) of the child. And at the commencement of the student career the *Ābhyudayika* service may be performed. All these services, it should be noted, are performed by the parents of the bride and bridegroom, the husband of the bride, and the father of the child to be fed or educated. That is, the persons for whose benefit the ancestors are invoked do not perform these services themselves.

Havir-yajñas are offerings consisting of clarified butter, milk, grain, liquor and flesh collectively called *havis*; they are made to the fire¹ for the gods. These sacrifices are, thus, the elaboration of *Deva-yajña* mentioned along with the five daily sacrifices (*pañcha-mahāyajñas*). But they have three aspects which are classified under three categories. It is *Ishṭi* when the sacrifice is performed jointly by the householder and his wife together with four priests² for good (*ishṭi*) of the family. It is *Paśu* when an animal (*paśu*) is sacrificed; and *Soma* when the offerings consist chiefly in liquor (*soma*). There are seven varieties of the *Havir-yajñas*. The first one is known as *Agnyādheya* which consists in establishing of the three sacred fires and takes two to three days in collecting the fire wood (*araṇi*), kindling the fire by rubbing, and establishing the fires and finally making the offerings to the gods for the good (*ishṭi*) of the family. The second is known as *Agnihotra* which the householder and his wife has to perform daily twice, in the morning and evening, by making offerings to the fire already permanently established.³ The third is called *Darśa-pūṇamāsa* as it is performed at the new moon (*darśa*) and the full moon (*pūrṇa-māsa*). Offerings of cake (*purodāśa*) are made to *Angi* and *Soma*, and also known as *Pinḍa-pitṛi* because on those occasions offerings of powdered rice ball (*pinḍa*) are made to the manes (*pitṛi*); it covers two days for the performance of the chief function and the minor rites of feeding *Brahmanas* etc. This is thus the elaboration of the *Pitṛi-yajña* of the *Pañcha-mahā-yajña* group.

1. The fire is known as *Garhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣhiṇa*.

2. *Adhvaryu*, *Agnidhara*, *Hotṛi*, and *Brahma*.

3. The authorities do not include this under *Ishṭi*, *Paśu* or *Soma*, as is considered a compulsory daily duty. But it may be considered an *ishṭi* without the assistance of the extra priest.

The fourth is known as Chaturmāsya because it is performed at the fourth month on the full moon day of Phālguna (February & March), Āshāḍha (June & July), and Kārtika (Oct.-Nov.). At this sacrifice special offering of puroḍāśa or cake (baked on eight potsherds) is made to the firegod Agni, of charu or milk rice to the plant god Soma, of cake (baked on twelve potsherds) to the Sun god Savitri, of milk-rice to the goddess of speech, Sarasvatī, and of ground rice to the god of cultivation, Pūshan. This is of the ishti type. It can also be of Paśu and Soma type when flesh and wine form the special offerings.

The fifth is known as Āgrahāyana as it is performed at the commencement of the summer solstice (21st. June) and winter solstice (21st. December) with the seasonal rice, barley and fruits, etc. It is ishti as it is done for the good of the family at these periods.

The sixth is known as the Paśu-bandha because at this sacrifice an animal (paśu), generally a goat, is killed, either at the sacrificial site (agni-somīya) or outside (nirudha). The offerings of flesh is specially made by six priests to the gods Agni, Soma and others. It is performed at the new and the full moon once or twice a year.

The seventh is known as Sautrāmaṇi. Herein also the offerings of milk, rice, etc., and flesh (paśu), wine (surā) are made to the gods, Aśvinau, Indra, and Sarasvatī by the six priests. Thus it also covers the three aspects of ishti, paśu, and soma. As many as five animals are killed at Soma form of this sacrifice.

Soma-yajñas are great festivities, so called, because the distinctive feature was the distribution of wine (soma) to the visitors. The other common features are the sacrifice of animals, chanting of musical hymns, and saying of prayers in chorus. These are performed at the end of the year (Manu, iv. 22) but not more than thrice in one's lifetime. These are forbidden for those who are not rich enough. It is expressly laid down (Manu XI, 7.10) that "he who may possess a supply of food sufficient to maintain those dependant on him during three years or more than that is worthy to drink (distribute) the soma juice. But a twice born¹ who

1 It is only Brahmanas especially the Kshatriyas who can perform these costly sacrifices of which the Rajasuya and Aśvamedha are limited only to the kings.

nevertheless drinks the soma juice does not derive any benefit from that act. If an opulent man is liberal towards strangers, while his family lives in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets of fame, but afterwards make him swallow the poison (of punishment in hell). If a man does anything for the sake of his happiness in another world, to the detriment of those whom he is bound to maintain, that produces evil results for him, both while he lives and when he is dead."

The Devayajña of the Pañcha-mahāyajña group is elaborated here. It has seven usual varieties and two or three special ones. The first one is known as Agnishṭoma because the firegod (Agni) is specially invoked. In it sixteen priests officiate, one animal is killed, twelve chants and twelve invocations (stoma, praise) are made.

The second one is known as Atyagnishṭoma because in it one addition (ati) is made to every item excepting the priests. Thus there are thirteen chants, thirteen invocations and three animals are killed, and there are usual sixteen priests.

The third one is known as Ukthya because invocation or praise (uktha) of the god Agni is emphasised here. In it also sixteen priests take part, two animals are killed, fifteen chants and fifteen invocations are made.

The fourth one is known as Shodāsin because the sixteen (shodāsa) priests, sixteen chants and sixteen invocations are emphasised here. In it three animals are killed. It lasts for a day.

The fifth one is called Vājapeya because its purpose is to demonstrate one's strength (vājas). Here also the sixteen usual priests officiate. There are seventeen chants, seventeen invocations and sacrifice of seventeen animals for the god Prajapati (creator). It also lasts for seventeen days. And seventeen cups of wine (soma) are given to each guest. It is performed in autumn by a Brahmana or Kshatriya for overlordship.

The sixth one is called Atiratra because it ends at late at night (atiratra), generally at the dead of night, thus covering a day and night. In it the sixteen priests make twenty-nine chants, twenty-nine invocations and kill four animals of which the fourth is a sheep.

The seventh is known as Āptoryāma which may emphasise a whole day and night festivity for the purpose

of gaining (*āpta*) one's desired name and fame. Thus it is otherwise known as *Jyotishtoma* because the invocation (*stoma*) is made here for one's glory (*vyotis*). In it the sixteen priests make thirty-three chants, thirty-three invocation and kill four animals. According to certain authorities the gradually increasing figures, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 29, and 33 also imply that each guest was presented with gold, cloth, ring, seat, etc., each item numbering as many as these figures imply. In all these festivities visitors were entertained sumptuously with food and drink.

In addition to these seven soma sacrifices there are at least two more great and special sacrifices combining *ishṭi*, *paśu* and soma. They were performed by the great *Kṣatriya* kings. *Rājasuya* is the great sacrifice which was performed at the coronation of a king. It extends over two years and commences in spring. The ordinary offerings, killing of animals, and distribution of wine (*soma*) are the usual function. The primary object is to celebrate one's paramount power. The subordinate kings who have been conquered have to present themselves and make presents and homage by way of showing their subordination. The ordinary festivities like dice-playing, eating, drinking, etc., are observed. Presents are also made to the priests and guests.

Āśvamedha or the horse sacrifice is the most celebrated one. It also commences in spring and lasts for a year. It also combines *ishṭi* offerings, flesh (*paśu*) and wine (*soma*). Its main object is to establish suzerainty over the conquered and formally unconquered kings. A horse was let loose followed by an army to wander about for a year and whoever did not acknowledge the suzerainty had to oppose the horse and fight the army until defeated. This particular horse was sometimes not immolated but kept bound during the ceremony. In latter times its efficacy was so exaggerated that a hundred such sacrifices entitled the sacrificer to displace *Indra* (king of gods) from the dominion of *svarga* (heaven). Kings who engaged in it had to spend enormous sums in gifts to the *Brahmanas* and guests¹.

1 For further details of *P* *ka*, *Havis* and *Soma* sacrifices see the *Śrauta* sutras of *Katyayana*, *Āśvalayana*, *Baudhayana*, *Āpastamba*, *Gautama*, *Sankhyayana* and *Gobhila*, and the *Aitareya Brahmana*.

The luxuries involved in all these soma sacrifices are further indicated by a common ceremony known as agni-chayana (gathering of sacrificial fires). It refers to the construction of fire-altars. This construction of the altars seems to have been based on sound scientific principles and was probably the beginning of the *sikhara* (spherical dome) of the later Hindu temples. Of the five fold daily offerings of a householder three (*Brahma*, *Deva*, *Pitri*) refer to the supernatural forms of life and two (man and lower creatures) to the forms of life which we can see with our eyes. The reality of the former of these two groups of life can be understood by ordinary intellect through a process of reasoning. 'They fall out of the horizon of human knowledge when the men of modern science and philosophy reveal the whole life and existence with their telescopes, microscopes and other apparatus'. But in India of the past they have been known 'to the inner intelligence, perceived by the super sense developed by subtilization and sublimation of the natural senses'. It appears that this idea was recorded in scriptures elsewhere also as Sir Oliver Lodge records the strange communication of Raymond Madame H. P. Blavatsky of Russia who founded the Theosophical Society also revealed to the world of thinking men 'that the upper layers of the *aero-etheral* sky and the regions beyond them are all populated by communities of mysterious persons who live on higher planes of consciousness and possess far greater capacities of thought and action and who are not subject to evils and ailments of miserable living'. The ancient Indian seers, sages and saints knew their superhuman orders of beings and held communication with them, sought their influences and worshipped the beneficial ones among them for power and purification.

According to these authorities the divinities, deities and spirits are not imaginary beings. The gods and goddesses we hear and talk of are 'real, veritable, living beings, persons possessing powers of all degrees, individualized forces, natural, supernatural and celestial'. But they have got many differences and distinction among them, of nature, character, position, function, occupation and dwelling. One group is free and divine, being independent of all forces and in perfect harmony with the Highest. Of the other group of divinities one

sub-class 'administer the governments (like executive officer of the god Almighty) of the worlds of nature, of men and animals. The portfolios of Providence responsible for the management of the affairs of the world are held by Indra, Sūrya (sun), Agni (fire), Varuṇa (water-god) Kubera (god of wealth), Marut (air) and many others. The Prajāpatis (creators or progenitors) including the ten sages like Marichi, Atri, Daksha and others possess the rights and privileges of living in the various heavens though not taking particular parts in the world-administration. The demigods like Gandharvas, Kinnaras and others differing from the Gods in the ways of life and faculties and functions form the celestial artist classes. The Jiva or embodied spirits who are subject to Karma and undergo rebirth form the fourth category and are the presiding and ruling deities of the various kinds of terrestrial, super-terrestrial and sub-terrestrial individual lives.'

There is a different category of 'preter-natural creatures that are gross, grotesque and grim and even gruesome, known as ghosts and goblins and evil spirits in general that haunt sepulchres, cemeteries and other places, dolorous and dreadful. There are also stated to be realities of disagreeable hyper-physical life forming a dark department of the weird world of nature.'

There are many kinds of other rare natural beings 'some of whom as known are fairies, flights of whom are to be found in every country, differing in forms and characteristics of life in different countries as held by the Theosophists.' There are thus 'natural beings of exquisite structural composition including the sylphs that dwell in the atmosphere like invisible birds, the salamanders that live in the flaming fire, the nymphs and naiads that have their homes in brooks and fountains the hamadryads that find their dwellings in insides of trees, the gnomes that move freely in rocky strata of earth.'

'The super-human, super-terrestrial, and super-sensuous beings are not necessarily super-natural. In fact 'the denial of superhuman beings should go side by side

1. Vide Divinities Deities and Spirits, Kalyāṇa Kalpataru, October, 1945, pp. 306, 311.

with the denial of the Divine Being (God). It is untenable to accept the idea of a supreme Deity and to reject the ideas of super-natural forms of life.' Thus those who believe in the existence of God have to assume the existence of superhuman beings who transcend the human limitation. Upon this faith is founded the whole system of the sacraments, sacrifices, and ritual of the Hindus. All our sacramental rites are intimately associated with libations and sacrificial offerings which are made to all superhuman beings including Agni, Vayu; Indra, Varuṇa; Brahma, Viṣṇu; Śiva of later ages; Gandharva, Kinnara; Manes; and even Bhūtas and Pretas.

Those whose enjoyment is aimed at by the various rites include the spirits not only of one's forefathers of all past ages but also those of others of all lands as well as the gods, sages, saints.¹

The questions however, arise how do the Manes, for instance, receive in another world the oblation and offerings of rice, etc., made in this world and how do they derive satisfaction from such offerings and suffer privation in the absence of them for which the God rewards and punishes their surviving descendants. Again, in the event of the human soul, which survives the death of the human body, being liberated or being transmigrated into a new being in a new species how the offerings of articles of food, clothes, ornaments, furniture, etc., fit for only human use can benefit the manes or spirits.

Any attempt at answering such questions could be only a compilation and elucidation of intelligent and logical direction received from the scriptures wherein, however, a direct explanation is missing. Thus it is stated in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (II xv, 16) that "whatever food is offered by a man of faith referring to the name

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- L. Om ābrahma bhuvana loka devārṣi muni manavaḥ
 Tripyantu pitarāḥ sarve mātṛi matamahadayaḥ
 Ātita kula koṣṭham sapta deva nivasinam
 Maya dattena toyena tripyantu bhuvana trayāṁ
 Ātmadi stamba paryantair murtimadbhiḥ characharaiḥ
 Nṛitya gītīadyanekarhaiḥ prithak pithag upasitāḥ

and patronymics (name and gotra) of the ancestors reaches the latter in the form of food which is appropriate to them. ¹ It merely means that there is a sort of exchange bank which converts the sum deposited in this world for the use of those who are in another world. Thus if the departed soul takes re-birth as a goat for instance the offerings of fruits may be converted into grass which the goat requires. On the other hand if the soul is permanently liberated and has become unified with God it requires no further nourishment from its surviving descendants as stated to be the case when the Śrāddha (offerings) is performed at Brahma Kapāli at Badrīnātha and elsewhere which ensures salvation of the forefathers. As, however, it is difficult to be sure of the final liberation of a departed soul it is customary to continue to make the offerings on specified occasions during one's own life time. Like offerings the prayer for salvation of the departed souls also benefit them. "Through the mechanism of the Radio words uttered thousands of miles away are immediately brought to our hearing. Similarly every single action done concerning the departed souls reaches them immediately in the form of eternal waves and brings them pleasure or pain as the case may be.

When a powerful government of a ruler in this world can take charge of the gift made by any one for the benefit of his dependant in a distant land where the mode of life is different, there is nothing superstitious or fantastic to think that the all powerful ruler of the universe with a perfect machinery of government cannot properly distribute the gifts we make in the names of various beings which reside in spaces beyond the scope of our limited vision. The same analogy may also enable us to follow the line of argument regarding the seemingly unaccountable punishments from the blue sky. If a person fails or neglects to maintain his dependants according to his means the government of the land punishes the defaulter. In the same way it is not unreasonable to think that the all-seeing and Almighty God takes the defaulter to task for the failure of his duties towards his ancestors whose descendence and property one enjoys through inheritance. And it

1 Śrāddha—samanvitair dat.tam pitrebhyo nama.gotratah.
Yad.aharastu te jatas tad aharatvam etitat.

also cannot escape the notice of the all pervading God whose ancestors are in need of the offerings from their surviving descendants. Thus no distortion of evidence or pleading can have any effect in the Court of God's perfect justice. Similarly if the plea of ignorance on the part of an individual defaulter proves to be valid the God's penalty is inflicted upon the state whose business it is to educate the members of the society in the spiritual laws formulated in various scriptures by the seers in different civilizations. Any disagreement or conflict of these laws cannot be accepted as an argument or the reason for not following any system in which one has developed his own faith. According to the faithful the atheist are outlaws and have to face all the miseries in this and the next worlds.

The whole Hindu system of culture has developed from the faith in the Almighty and all-active God possessing a perfect machinery of administration. It is also based upon a faith in the migration of the human souls to salvation or rebirth into some other species until the unification with the God is achieved. Thus after a well regulated and perfectly disciplined and fully trained life of Brahmachari one enjoys all possible happiness of householder's life until he reaches the age of retirement in forest by way of preparing for natural renunciation and peaceful death which is inevitable for all living beings.

The altars where upon the big sacrifices were performed could be constructed in ten different shapes. The first one is called *chaturasra-syena-chit*, so called because it resembles the form of a falcon (*syena*) and the bricks out of which it is composed are all square shaped (*chaturasra*). The second is *kankachit*, in the shape of a heron (*kanka*) which is same as *syena-chit* except the two additional feet. The third, *alaja-chit*, is the same as the *syena-chit* with the additional wings. The fourth is *praugachit* which is an equilateral triangle. The fifth is *ubhayatah-prauga-chit* which is made up of two such triangles joined at their bases. The sixth is *ratha-chakra-chit* which is in the form of a wheel (*chakra*) a massive wheel without spokes and a wheel with sixteen spokes. The seventh is *drova-chit* which is like a vessel or tube (*drova*) square or circular. The eighth is *parichayya-chit* which has a circular (*parichayya*) outline and is equal to the *ratha-chakra*

chit differing in the arrangement of bricks which are to be placed in six concentric circles. The ninth, samuhya.chit, is circular (samuhya) in shape and made of loose earth and bricks. And the tenth is kūrma-chit which resembles a tortoise (kūrma) and is of a triangular or circular shape.¹

Every one of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together came up to the height of the knee; in some cases ten or fifteen layers, and proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks, so that the whole agni (altar) contained a thousand; the first, third, fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form.²

RETIRED LIFE IN FOREST

The time of retirement from ordinary household duties has been fixed at any time after the age of fifty years.³ This indefiniteness is due to several conditions to be fulfilled before retirement. One of these conditions is personal and depends upon the strength one retains after the age of fifty years. Generally one is to retire at the commencement of the old age, which naturally varies with different individuals. The sign of old age is, however, indicated. It is stated by Manu (VI. 2) that one should retire when one sees his skin becoming wrinkled and hair turning gray. Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra Book II, Chapt. I, 4, 8) lays down a more precise sign of old age when he says "whoever has passed the age of copulation may become an ascetic after distributing

1. For further details see the writer's *Indian Architecture* (1927) p. 7.8, and for illustrations his *encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. Sub. voce and plates enclosed therewith.

2. These are first enumerated in the *Taittiriya saṁhita* (V. 4. 11). Constructional details are supplied by the *śaiva sūtras* which are supplements to the *Kalpasastra* of Baudhayana and Āpastamba.

The details of Pāka, Havis and Soma sacrifices are gathered from the *Śrauta sūtras* of Katyāyana, Āśvalayana, Baudhayana, Āpastamba, Gautama, Sankhayana, and Gobhila and Aitareya Brahmana.

3. Panchaśa ardhvaṁ vanam vrajet.

the properties of his own acquisition." Manu (VI. 1), however, overrules this text when he says that "a twice born may dwell in the forest taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection."

The other condition concerns the family and the continuance of the domestic duties towards the family deities, deceased ancestors and living relations, and the society at large. Thus one is not free to retire until he "sees the son of his son." This means that before retirement one should have a son settled down to take the burden of the householders duties which must be carried on for the benefit of the family and the society. Kauilya provides punishments for the delinquent who shirk this responsibility and run away from domestic troubles. Thus it is stated (Arthaśāstra, Bk. II Chap. II, 48) when, "without making provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons any person embraces asceticism he shall be punished"¹.

At this third part of a man's natural term of life in the forest he does not abandon all attachment to worldly objects (Manu, VI. 33). He merely retires from 'the village or town to the forest and reside there duly controlling his senses'. 'But he takes with him the sacred (nuptial) fire and the implements required for (the fire) domestic sacrifices.' He has to offer those five great sacrifices with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics such as herbs, roots, and fruits (ibid VI. 4, 5) only the simplicity demarcates the forester from the householder. Thus being free from the pangs of passion and sexual desires one can live and think coolly and dispassionately for the individual, social, political, and spiritual good. The extensive literature in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakṛit which we still possess have originated from this class of thinkers. They were, therefore, highly respected and generously patronized by the state as well as by the individual visitor. In fact the practice still continues for the common householders to go out on pilgrimage with the main purpose of paying respects to these ascetics and gaining instruction and blessing from them. The kings and

1 The state could stop the retirement because the retired persons, like pensioners of the present day, had to depend on the state for protection and maintenance.

rulers also used to visit them for the identical purposes. On special occasions these ascetics could be persuaded to come down to the village and the king's palace.

At retirement one's wife may accompany him to the forest or remain in the family to look after her sons and family. This option indicates the Hindu's love for individual liberty and personal inclination which is the chief ideal of the modern civilization. This liberty slackens the marriage tie and wedlock when there is no more sexual desire left a woman is free to transfer from the husband her attachment towards the children. But in cases of the most successful marriages the mental attraction for the husband's company remains unabated even in the absence of physical attachment.

A forest dweller who, however, retires with his devoted wife practises in order the four kinds of asceticisms. At the first stage they are known as *audumbara*. The significance of this term is derived from the observance of celibacy by placing the *Udumbara* plant in the nuptial bed to prevent physical contact between the husband and wife. At the first stage of asceticism the same practice was re-introduced. The ascetic couple lived not so much as husband and wife, but more as loving friends and comrades.

At the second stage of ascetic progress they were known as *vairinchi*. This title appears to have from the great asceticism of Śiva one of whose name is *Virinchi*. Śiva as an ideal ascetic (*yogin*) is well known throughout Sanskrit literature. The ideal at the second stage is to live and practice austerity as Śiva did despite his married life.

At the third stage the ideal for the retired couple is to become *Bālakhilya* "a class of divine personages of the size of a thumb and produced from the creator's body," who are able "to precede sun's chariot." This indicates probably the freedom from physical and mental vanity and the ability to absorb and disseminate light like the small rays from the sun.

At the fourth and last stage the couple is known as *phenapa* which literally means those who live on foam or froth from the boiled rice. It probably implies the detachment from even food and the disability of the advanced age to pull on any longer. Ascetically it may

indicate the distraction from all worldly attachment even between the husband and wife.

One who retires leaving behind his partner of the household life practises in order the seven forms of asceticism. At the first stage he is called *Kala-śikha* because he puts on a blue tuft which the epithet implies. At the second he is *uddandaka* as he carries a staff (*danda*) as a distinguishing mark. At the third stage he is *aśma-kutja* because he resides on stone (*aśma*). At the fourth he is *danta-ulukhalika* as he then practises penance by resting his teeth (*danta*) on a mortar (*ulukhala*). At the fifth stage he is *unchehha vrithika* because he roams about as beggar with a bowl in hand. At the sixth stage he is *bailavāsin* because then he does not beg for his livelihood and lives on the fruit and leaf of the *bela* tree which grows in plenty in the forest. At the last and the seventh stage he is *pancha-agni-madhyā-śayina* as giving up all efforts even for fresh fruits and leaves he practises severe penance by lying between 'five blazing fires' as *Parvatī* used to do to gain the love of god *Śiva*.

The ascetics practising such penances are often met with even at the present time. In whichever of these twelve positions the forest-dwellers are found, all of them are required to follow a common mode of life. They clothe themselves in bark or skin, let their hair and nails grow, eat simple food, sleep on earth, and perform the five-fold daily sacrifices at the initial stage especially when they are accompanied by their wives (*Manu* VI, 94; *Gautam* III, 26-36; *Baudhayana* II, 11, 15).

It may appear hard for a modern retired man to assume such austere asceticism instead of enjoying on the well earned rest and illness. The ancient system however, served two good purposes. First, it kept up the health of the retired man owing to achieve life and simple habit and freedom from worldly troubles. Secondly, the society got the benefit of his experience and dispassionate thinking. Lastly, the ascetic practises prepared the recluse for the complete renunciation of the world, took place at the fourth state of one's normal life. In the growing family whenever retired people linger on till death there is always a sort of embarrassment for all. The Hindu custom devised a satisfactory means to get over this inevitable difficulty.

The custom shows a great foresight. Its cultural value and civilized feature are obvious.

LIFE OF COMPLETE RENUNCIATION (SANNYĀSA)

This is the fourth part of the normal term of a hundred years. It commences after the age of seventy-five years by when the ascetic practices of the retired life in forest are completed. These practices help one in loosening gradually without repentance, the knots of household life. Thus the last stage comes off easily. It is thus known as sannyāsa or renunciation. At this stage connection with human beings is entirely shunned (nyāsa). "No recluse of this type shall find entrance into the villages of the kingdom" (Kauṭilya Bk. II, chap. I. 48). At the time of entering this stage the ascetic performs a small sacrifice (ishṭi) to the creator (Prajāpati) in which whatever property of the forester is left is given away as the sacrificial fee (Vish. 96, 1; Compare Baudhāyana II 17) and thus abandons (sannyāsa) all worldly concerns.

On the assumption of this life the hair, nails and beard of the ascetic of the forest life are clipped. He carries an alms-bowl, a staff and a water pot. He continually wanders about, controlling himself and not hunting any creature (Manu VI 52) without home or property (sannyāsin Vās X. 6) he roams about as a religious beggar (bhikshu). By way of restraining the physical needs even he becomes yati (restrainer). He eats only what is given to him voluntarily, yet never any meat or sweets. He wears a loin-cloth only of bark or skin or nothing and moves about nude. He sleeps on earth. He does not talk to anybody and meditates in silence (mauni).

'By the restraint of the senses, by the destruction of love and hatred and by the abstention from injuring the creatures he becomes fit to think over this body as a temporary dwelling, composed of five elements, where the bones are the beams, which is held together by tendons instead of cords, where the flesh and blood are the mortar, which is thatched with the skin, which is foul-smelling filled with urine and ordure, infested by old age and sorrow, the rest of disease harassed by pain, gloomy with passion, and perishable. (Manu VI, 52, 76-77).

The mental restraint of the yati requires an unruffled temper and philosophical equanimity. He wishes neither for death nor for long life. He does not trouble himself to see whether some body is hacking off his hand with an axe of sprinkling sandal powder on him. Thus gradually shaking off all mundane propensities he lastly goes into exile and roams about alone as a parivrajaka (traveller) when by the disposition of his heart he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death (Manu VI, 80). Thus he is finally dissolved in the Universal soul.

This physical and mental renunciation is very helpful in facing the inevitable death peacefully. Whether or not we cultivate a faith in salvation or freedom from re-birth we all desire to meet the end happily. The face of the dead or of the dying which is the mirror of the mind, shows unmistakably how one has met his end. In most cases such a face is a picture of horror reflecting the pang of the departed life. In no other civilization, ancient or modern, any conscious effort appears to have been made to meet the end peacefully. The device of the Hindus has however, its obvious short coming of dying both physically and mentally before the actual death. But the great advantage of the Hindu system cannot be overlooked. The renunciation attained unconsciously through all these ascetic practices keeps the body and mind unruffled and is not, therefore, equivalent to dying before death. Besides, this active habit suitable food saves one from infirmities of old age and disease to a large extent. From this point of view the cultural importance and the civilized device of the sacrament of renunciation may be understood and appreciated.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC LIFE OF MATERIAL PROGRESS

Marriage between persons originating from the same human or divine ancestor (*gotra*) was prohibited by the Hindu Custom, probably because the children born of the same blood as of brother and sister proved to be weak both physically and intellectually. And the primary object of marriage being to beget children the mixture of blood from two different ancestors of the husband and wife became necessary. This necessity will account for the marriage between different castes known as both *anuloma* between male of higher caste and female of lower caste and *pratiloma* in a reverse order. Thus there came a collection of families grouped together by matrimonial connection. As the success of marriage depends upon the homogeneous nature of the couple experience found it advantageous to prefer matrimonial connection between families of common occupation, equal economic status and professing the same form of religious faith and belief, and following the same professional calling. The grouping of such people is known as community. The combination of communities in a territorial unit came to be known as the tribe. And when the tribes combine for economic reasons there comes the society at large. The society is turned into a nation for political cohesion.

Among the Indo-Aryan society, despite the homogeneity of race language and religion, with the expansion of territory and population, the simple organisation of the domestic life, where the head of the family could be the warrior, cultivator and priest, became impracticable. However the members of the same family could also follow different professions as stated in a hymn (R.v. IX, 112,3): "Behold I am a composer of hymns, my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. We are all engaged in different occupations." But the society being more complex the communal vocations tended to become hereditary. The population being spread over wider tracts of territory the necessity arose for something in the nature of a standing army to keep peace and order, and to repel sudden attacks by the

aborigines. The agricultural and industrial part of the population was thus left to follow their pursuits without interruption. Meanwhile the religious ceremonial was increasing in complexity; its success was growing more dependent on correct performance, while the preservation of ancient hymns was becoming more urgent. The priests had, therefore, to devote all their time and energies to carrying out of their religious duties and the handing down of the sacred tradition in their families.

The warriors naturally became the leaders of the society, the rulers and kings as well as the nobles. But the priests, because of his intellectual powers, became the King's counsellors, judges, and prophets or dictators. And working men as ploughers, traders, builders or road-makers became the producers of wealth and carried on trade, commerce and industries. "These three divisions we can clearly perceive even in the early hymns of the *Rigveda*."¹

The principle involved in this division of labour gave rise to other divisions also. The land of the five rivers—Indus (together with its tributaries the Jhelum, Chenāb, Rāvi, Beas, and Sutlej), Sarasvati near Kurukshetra and Thāneśvar, Ganges (R.v. IV. 45, 81 etc.), Jamunā (R.v. V. 52, 17), and Brahmaputra (R.v. 52, 17)—was the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India. The five lands (*pancha kshiti*) are clearly alluded to (R.v. V, 1, 79; 129, 3; VI, 46, 7). The settlers along the five rivers gradually formed themselves into five tribes. Mention is, also made of five peoples (*pancha-jana*, R.v. VI, 11, 4; VI. 51, 11; VII. 32, 32; IX, 65, 32 etc.) and of five cultivators (*pancha-kṛish*, R.v. II, 2, 10; IV. 38, 10).²

"It was these five tribes of simple, bold and enterprising Indians, living by agriculture and by pasture on the fertile banks of the Indus and its tributaries which have spread their civilization from the Himalayas

1. Maxmuller, 'India what can it teach us' 1899 pp. 95.96 note

2. "Mention is often made in the *Rigveda* of *Sapta-sindhavah* (seven rivers) which is synonymous with the country inhabited by the Aryan Indians. In the *Avesta* also *Hapta-Hindu* occurs to mean only that part of Indian territory which lay in eastern Kabulistan, comprising Kabul, Sarasvati and the five rivers of the Punjab (Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 141).

to the cape Comorin."¹ The five tribes, synonymous with Aryans, meant the Purus, Turvasus, Yadus, Anus, and Druhyus.

Seven other tribes are also mentioned in the Rigveda Usinaras (of the time of the Aitareya Brahmana) are located in the middle of Northern India. Chedis (of the epic age) settled in Magadha. Krvis (connected with the Indus and the Asikini) point to the North-West; they bore the older name of the Panchālas (at the time of the Śatapatha Brahmana) who inhabited north of modern Delhi. Gindharas (connected with Kandahār) point to north Punjab and Peshawar. Mujvats must have derived their name from their residence near the mountain of Mujavat. Magadhas were the inhabitants of Magadha in Behar. And Angas (of the time of the Atharvaveda) were the inhabitants of Bengal.²

The Aryan invaders of India, though split up into many tribes remained conscious of their unity of race, language, and religion "The tribe in fact was the political unit well organised."³ They styled themselves *arya* or kinsmen. The subjugated aborigines were called *dasyu* (fiends) *dāsa* (slaves), and later *anārya* (natives)

The characteristic physical difference between the two races was that of colour (*Varṇa*). The aborigines were described as black (*Krishṇa*), black skins of *dāsa* colour in contrast with Aryan (our) colour. Thus the distinction divides at first the Aryans and non-Aryans into two *varṇas*, the whites and the Blacks, the conquerors and the conquered. Indra is stated⁴ in a hymn "to protect the Aryan colour (*Varṇa*) and subject the Black skins. In another hymn Indra is extolled for having dispersed 50,000 of the Black race". *Varṇa* in the Rigveda merely distinguished the Aryans and non-Aryans, and no where indicates separate sections in the Aryan community (R.v. II, 34, 9, etc).

On the analogy of this racial distinction and owing to the presence of three professional divisions among the Aryans they divided themselves into five *varṇas*,

1. R. O. Dutt, 'A History of civilization on ancient India (Book I. Chap. V pp. 62-63).

2. Later on new tribal names occur. The Aitareya Brahmana, the Mahabharata, Manu, and Buddhist literature supply long lists mentioning the well known Kurus, Bharatas Matsyas, and others.

3. Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature p. 157-158.

comprising the counsellors, warriors, traders, the servile class (*dāsa*) of aborigines, and the unsubjugated Blacks. This took place before the consolidation of the caste system.

'The necessary division of labour in an organised society would inevitably lead to an exclusiveness. But for a considerable length of time this exclusiveness permitted intermarriage and interdining. The impassable caste system appears to have started, in the first instance, from the treatment of the conquered aborigines. They were treated on accepting the Aryan belief as a servile class as the result of the Aryan polity.¹ This gulf between the two races supplied the need and reasons to cause further gulfs between the three Aryan Groups themselves soon after the early Rigvedic period. Not only do we find the four castes firmly established as the main divisions of Indian society in the Yajurveda, but as one of the later books of the the Vājasaneyi Sāmhita shows most of the mixed castes known in later times are already found to exist'.

Thus the impassable barriers of caste based on birth (*Jāti*)² and heredity, and the prohibition of intermarriage and eating together grew up prominently in the times of the Brahmana literature. The word, *brāhmaṇa* the regular name for the 'man of the first class' is rare in the Rigveda, occurring only eight times. But *Brāhmaṇa* meaning sage or 'officiating priest' is found forty-eight times. It is used in a hundred places to imply the composers of hymns and nothing else (R.v. VII, 103, 8 etc.). *Kshatriya* is also used as an adjective and means strong and is applied to gods (R.v. VII, 64, 2; VII, 89, 1) The first and only time the four castes are mentioned in the Rigveda is in the Purusha hymn (R.v. X 90) which is one of the very latest poems of the Rigvedic age, for it presupposes the knowledge of three oldest Vedas, to which it refers together by name. The Purusha's (of the first man or creator) mouth became the *Brāhmaṇa*, his arms the *Rājanya* (the ruling class),

1. A parallel is supplied by the Native christians all over the world as treated by the European and American christian conquerors.

2. Like *Jāti* from the root 'jan' (to give birth to) the term 'caste' also is derived from Portuguese 'casta' (race) and Latin 'Castus' and connotes 'purity' of racial descent.

his thighs the Vaiśya (the trading class), and his feet the Śūdra (the servant class).¹

The birth alone determining men's caste appears to have been recognised not till the time of the Purāṇas.² The stories in the Jātakas³ and the Buddhist texts⁴ make it clear that equality of castes and rational views about higher and lower castes were recognised but the practical distinction between the four castes had already been well established.⁵

On the consolidation of this caste system the Brahmanas secured the religious as well as the social supremacy. Although they were not the actual rulers they exercised virtually all powers not only as priests but also as kings, counsellors and judges. They also made laws for the kings, traders, servants, and householders of all professions. The defence of the territory was left to the kshatriya warriors, the agricultural and industrial activities to the Vaiśya workmen, and the menial services were reserved for the Śūdra aborigines.

The inevitable powers of such hereditary division of labour led to the growth of numerous sub-castes. Thus by the time of the Epics (B. C. 700 to A. D. 500) and the Law Books (Grihyasūtras, smritis, A. D. 100)

1. The Puruṣa of the Rīgveda is the same as Prajapati (creator) of the Brahmana literature, who is identified with the universe in the later part of this literature known as *upanishad*. Still later in the Sāṅkhya philosophy the Puruṣa becomes 'soul' as opposed to 'matter' (Prakṛiti). In the Rīgveda Viraj is mentioned as produced from Puruṣa, and in later Vedānta Philosophy it is a name of the personal creator as contrasted with Brahma, the universal soul. Later on Puruṣa, Prajapati, Hiranyagarbha and Viśvakarman became identical.

2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (of about 500 A. D.), Book III, chapter VIII.

3. Bhaddasāla Introduction ;

Kumma Sāpinda, Introduction ;

Uddalaku, IV 293 ; chāṇḍāla, iv, 388 ;

Sataclamma, II, 82 ; chitta-sambhuta IV, 390 ;

4. Dīgha nikāya, no. 3, Ambatta Sutta ;

Majjhima nikāya no. 93, Assalayana Sutta ;

Vassettha Sutta S. B. E., X, 108 ;

Madhura Sutta J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 349

5. R. C. Mazumdar, Corporate life in ancient India p. 364 ;

Coplestone's Buddhism, p. 145 (thys Davids ;

Indian Buddhism, Hibbert Lectures, p. 51 ;

different caste rules came into being.¹ Even different kinds of food, clothes, house were prescribed for peoples of different castes as are illustrated below. The very means of livelihood, as we shall see below, became different for different castes.

Despite the caste restrictions, which appear to be unfair to the individual liking and ability as they denied equal opportunity to all for self development, the system worked very well and maintained the economic balance, discipline and order in the Hindu society. But the foreign invaders of different culture and civilization struck at the weak points of the system, endeavoured to cause cleavage and jealousy in order to weaken the combined opposition, and to divide and rule. Almost the same harmful policy was adopted by the Indo-Persians, the Indo-Grecians the Indoscythians, and lastly the Pathans, the Mughals, and the European Powers. Thus at present majority of the Hindus educated under the foreign surroundings have lost their faith and belief in the ancient caste rules. Except marriage within one's own community, which persists in most cases, all other caste habits have disappeared. But the political powers once being in the foreigners' hands the inevitable confusion has arisen. The different cultural basis and the custom and habit of more than one foreign civilization

1. The four special obligations of Brahmanas comprise Brahmanyā (faith in God), prātirupachārya (proper way of living) yāsas (fame), and lokapālā (training of the people). The four privileges are archa (veneration) dana (gift), ajeyata (freedom from oppression) avadhyata (immunity from capital punishment).

The duties include 'not carrying arms', not speaking in vulgar tongue, etc. (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X. 41, 96, 97 191, 102).

- (i) Brahmana is to be addressed as 'ehi, kshatriya as adrava. Vaisya as agahi (Sat. Bra I, 1, 4, 12).
- (ii) Brahmana may marry in three castes, Kshatriya in two and Vaisya in one only.
- (iii) They begin their study respectively at the age of 8, 11 & 12
- (iv) They pray respectively by the Gayatri hymn of 8 syllables, a trishtub of 10 syllables, and a Jagati of 12 syllables.
- (v) Their initiation takes place in spring, summer & autumn respectively.
- (vi) White, red, yellow grounds are prescribed for their buildings.
- (vii) Different danda, mekhala, uttariya are prescribed for them.

cannot fit in the old Hindu frame of the society. Nor is it possible to rebuild after the foreign pattern or reform according to the need of the present time keeping the foundation intact for two reasons. First and foremost is the foreign influence and secondly the members of the society are not equally enlightened.

'Caste in some form or other is, however, the normal condition of all society everywhere. Every community (society) no matter what its religious or social development may be requires for its well being teachers, rulers, producers of wealth, and servants and labourers. Even in the most democratic countries such divisions of society have always been and shall always be formed and the well-being of the society requires that the whole of the functions be discharged on a definite and well-organised plan. But while in other countries accession from one class to another is possible and depends largely upon personal merit, in most cases upon the possession of wealth, in modern India one caste cannot be changed into another, although the caste profession are frequently changed. In ancient India, however, it was possible. The story of the warrior-sage Visvāmitra being born as Kshatriya and becoming a Brahmana by individual efforts confirms the fact that till his time there was no impassable caste distinction based on birth between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas'

'Though outwardly there has been Diversity and infinite variety among our people, there was everywhere that tremendous impress of one ness', as has been recognized even by Jawaharlal Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' which had held all of us together for past ages. Whatever political fate or misfortune had befallen us, the essential unity had been so powerful that no political division, no disaster or catastrophe had been able to overcome it. The unity of India was no longer merely an intellectual conception. Despite diversities and divisions of Indian life, of classes, castes, races, languages, forms of religious and different degrees of cultural development there is the same set of moral and mental qualities. The result has been that an Indian feels more at home in any part of India, and as stranger and alien in any other country. Pt Nehru quotes from Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature in support of his own view that inspite of successive waves of invasion and

conquest by Persians, Greeks, Scythians, and Muhammadans, 'the national development of life and literature of the Indo-Aryan remained practically unchecked and unmodified from without down to the era of British occupation.' Moreover 'the social structure, based on the caste system and joint family, served the purpose of stability and security, and provided the social security for the group and a kind of insurance for the individual who by reason of age infirmity or any other incapacity was unable to provide for himself'

Our Communal village organisation has been praised by all thinkers. In 1830 Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote: 'The village Communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last when nothing else lasts. This Unionism of the village Communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.' After quoting this Pt Nehru adds 'The destruction of village industries was a powerful blow to these communities. The balance between agriculture and industry was upset, the traditional division of labour was broken up, and numerous stray individuals could not be easily fitted into any group activity. A more direct blow came from the introduction of the landlord system... This led to the breakdown of the joint life and corporate character of the Community, and the co-operative system of services and functions began to disappear gradually.'

MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

The distinction of caste as the basis of the Hindu society was carried with amazing success on all matters of material progress. Unlike the primitive society where personal property was not recognized and also unlike the medieval society where property was vested in the church and its protecting authorities the Hindū system made an ingenious device, much like the modern scientific method, whereby it was possible to recognise both the nationalization of certain property and ownership and possession of certain other property by the individuals, families, and the communities.

Thus the arable land was the object of private

ownership. The pasture land was owned in common by the various families of the village. The forest land belonged to whoever cleaned it. Income from agriculture, industry, trade and commerce could be well as joint and common property of the joint stock company. Revenue from taxes levied on crown lands and other items was also treated as individual property in a hereditary monarchical state, and as the common property of the nation in a democratic state.

This system underwent a change with the growth of caste and monarchical form of government on the principle that only the free man could lawfully own property; the Sudras or the subjugated aborigines were not allowed to own property. Similarly the casteless having no body to inherit, all property which had no owner reverted to the king as it does now-a-days.

The sources of the right of ownership common to all castes, as stated by Gautama (X 39) are inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure of unclaimed property and finding or discovery of new property. In addition to these the Brahmanas own property from acceptance of presents and dowry made to them. The Kshatriyas get additional property from booty of war or conquest, the Vaisyas from agriculture, trade and commerce including the tending of cattle and lending of money at interest. The wages from labour formed the private and personal property of the Śūdras.

This communal division of the means of livelihood has been further classified into three significant groups known as the white means, the spotted means, and the black means.¹

The white means obviously the pure and commendable ones are seven in number. They come from religious learning for which gifts are made, teaching, performance of sacrifice for which fees are made, mortification of flesh by the practice of asceticism, bravery and inheritance and the dowry of a bride.

The seven spotted or less commendable means comprise the nuptial fee, service for superior work, wages for inferior labour, lending money at interest, agriculture, trade, and crafts or industry.

1. Narada, I, 44-49; Vishnu, 58 etc.

The seven black or impure and objectionable means include bribe, gambling, bearing message (espionage), causing pain (molestation), forgery, robbery, and fraud. These are not the caste-wise division, although the first group will come under the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, and the second under the Vaisyas. The third group falls under the criminal offence. These divisions, however, indicate the cultural outlook and the civilized practices followed by the ancient Hindus in earning for their food, clothes, and dwellings, which in themselves will show below the standard of civilization attained by the Hindus.

FOOD

Food stuffs and cooking—The state of culture and condition of civilization are nowhere more universally illustrated than by food. No life can exist without food. At the primitive state people lived on vegetables and non-vegetarian food on the principle of local supply and superior force. This supply of food is not changed by the mixture of various stuffs and by cooking. With the dawn of civilization the selection and combination of food stuffs and their cooking with further mixture of spices with or without fire and with the help of oil and butter appear to have been discovered by repeated experiments. The improvements in the taste and the quality of food to increase vitality and strength determine the degree of culture and the state of civilization in the important and essential matter of food.

Taste in food depends on habit and the variety of dishes is regulated by the local supply and economic condition. Thus there is a great difference amongst peoples in matter of food and drink. A comparative study is, however, possible if the matter of food-value is taken into consideration.

At birth the chief article of food for man must have been milk because the animal offsprings live by instinct on mother's milk. Thereafter food grains and vegetables in some form or other become the staple food for all. These food stuffs come from the plants grown naturally in the forest or cultivated by human efforts.

In India wheat was produced by cultivation as early as B C 3000 as indicated by the live wheat discovered at Mohenjodaro along with other finds dated

at there thousand B. C. In the subsequent Vedic period from circa B. C. 2000 to 1000 wheat (godhuma) and barley (yava) were the principal produce of the field. Rice (dhanya in Bengal) is stated to have been used in the sense of 'fried barley' at the early Vedic age, and Vrihi, also meaning rice in the later period, is not mentioned in the Rigveda. Various kinds of vegetables, fruits, and roots formed part of the daily fare of the Vedic Indians. There is clear indication of the use, as food in the Vedic age, of flesh of rams, horses¹, buffaloes, bulls², cows³, birds and fishes.

At least two kinds of spirituous liquor, viz. Soma and Surā were in use in the Vedic time continued to the time of Avesta where these drinks were called homa and hura respectively.

The preparation of these and other food stuffs evinces a scientific progress from the early time. Even in the early Vedic period grains of wheat, barley, and later rice, were eaten after being parched or ground to flour between mill stones and were also made into cakes with milk or butter. Meat was either roasted on spits or cooked in pot made of metal or earthen ware. Vegetables were cooked single and in combination in various ways. As many as ten different parts of some single vegetable viz. root, leaf, shoot, forepart, trunk, offshoot, skin, thorn, flower, and fruit, were variously cooked.

The process of preparing the Soma liquor is elaborately described in the Vedic hymns. "O, soma (plant), you have been crushed, you flow as a stream of Indra, seething joy on all sides, you bestow immortal food (R.v. X, 66, 7) Seven women stir thee with thin fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee, you remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice (R.v. X. 16, 8). You mix with water with a pleasing sound; the finger stir you with an wooden strainer and filter you; your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woolen strainer (*ibid* 9). The woolen strainer is placed on the vessel and the finger repeatedly stir the soma, which sends down a sweet stream into the vessel (*ibid* 9). O,

1. Compare R.v. X, 91, 14 (horses and rams)

2. Cooking of Cows, buffaloes and bulls, Rv. I, 61, 13; II 7, 5; V. 29, 7, 8; VI, 17, 11; 15, 47; and 28, 4; X. 27, 2; 28, 2, etc.

3. Mention is made of slaughter house where cows were killed (R.v. X, 89, 14).

soma you are then mixed with milk; water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound (*ibid.* 13)"

The fondness for such drinks is clear "O, soma, the praiseworthy soma has from ancient times been the drinks of the gods (R.v. IX 110, 8) O, Soma, there is nothing so bright as those when found out thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality (*ibid* ix, 108, 3). In that realm where there is perennial light and where the heaven is placed, O, Soma, lead me to that deathless and immortal realm (*ibid* 113, 7)".

Later in the time of the Kamaśāstra drinks (peyas) are divided into two groups, namely, cooked (with fire) and uncooked. The former is called yūsha and admits of two varieties, viz soup and decoction. The latter has two varieties, known as, asaṇḍhikṛita (unfermented or unexperimented) and sandhāna-Kṛita (fermented or experimented). The latter are those which are made by distilling such as the fermented or the spirituous liquor, and are divided into dravita and adravita. The dravita is made by mixing water, sugar and tamarind and is known as drink or spirituous liquor. The adravita is made of liquified herbs mixed with palmyra fruit and plantain flower and is called rasa (essence or juice) of other beverages āsava implies spirituous liquor and indicates intoxication of three degrees, mild, ordinary, and high; and rāga implies three things, namely, those to be liked, powders, and liquids, and tasting salt, tamarind, pungent, and slightly sweet.

The food-stuffs are classified, as showing the manner of eating them when prepared as dishes. Things to be eaten by chewing and mastication are known as bhakshya and charvya. Things which are eaten by sucking are called bhojya and choshya. The things which are taken by licking is known as lehya. And the things which are taken by drinking are called peyas of which a number of varieties are described above from Vatsāyana's Kāma Sūtra.

Of these solid and liquid food there is a scientific proportion for each meal. Of the total quantity of food taken according to the capacity two parts form the solid and one part liquid and the fourth part of the stomach is left vacant for airing purposes.¹ In other words even

1. Dvau bhagau parayed annaṁ bhagamekaincha pantyail.
Vatadi—parapavthain tu chaturtham aveśeshayet.

a full meal should not fill up the stomach, not to speak of overfilling which is rightly considered unhealthy.¹

Like the modern method followed in both advanced Indian and European systems the meal is started with some appetiser and ended with sweets.* Balancing of diet was understood and followed.

The interval between meals is stated to be at least three hours but it should not exceed six hours. Medical reasons are cited for this rule. Within three hours the food is not completely assimilated, but after six hours the empty stomach injures the vitality.²

These references should suffice to show that the Hindus of the historical period made very satisfactory progress in a vital matter like food. The cultural development and civilized condition in the matter of food stuffs, of their preparation, and the manner and time of eating were then of high order. Predominantly vegetarian food for people of tropical country was suited to the climatic condition, peaceful habit, and economic sufficiency. The general practice and the prescription that certain food stuff should not be taken on certain days of the month, and that on certain other days one should altogether fast or take some light food further indicate the scientific knowledge regarding a change of food and rest to the stomach, which is conducive to health.

In the art of cooking itself there were in India remarkable development. While, some civilized peoples do not even now go beyond boiling and frying of vegetables, corns, fish and flesh, Hindus made innumerable delicious dishes by adopting further processes. This luxury still continues but in many places delicacies are unhygienic. This is apparently due to the lack of scientific study and investigation and a colossal apathy for the health of the nation. Exploitation of the poor has rendered them incapable of considering nutrition and enjoyment for most of them the problem is to provide for a single meal in a day. The picture of the past is entirely different. The normal term of life

1. Ati-bhojanam jiva—Nāśanam.

2. Madhureṇa samapayet.

3. Yama-madhye na bhunjita dvi—yamani.

Cha na langhayet.

Yama-madhye rasas tishthet triyame.

tu bala.Kshayah.

of a hundred years which has been emphasised and elaborated in previous section will lead support to this view, especially when compared with our present average life of 26 years only.

CLOTHES AND ORNAMENTS

Clothes.—Like food to sustain the life, clothing devices were discovered by civilized men both for reasons of hygiene and aesthetics. Clothes are put on the body to protect it from the inclemency of weather and for its artistic decoration. The cultured achievement of civilized individual as well as society is, therefore, more markedly indicated by the progress in clothing than even in food for which there is not so much publicity possible. But even in most private life the cultural convention and habit demand covering of the body, especially certain parts thereof, the exposure of which even the one's own self is considered uncivilized. The primitive persons and animals do not observe this decency. That this decency was keenly felt and invariably observed in the Hindu society is clear from copious instances from the archeological remains of sculptures and paintings and from general literature. From these sources a highly developed artistic sense is also indicated. Thus with the Hindus clothes became a matter of great importance in all walks of life and we shall see evidences that different dresses were prescribed for different persons for private and public wear and civil population and officials.

From the references to dress which the earliest literature, Rigveda (of B. C. 2500) contains we may gather that a lower garment and cloak were worn by the civil population of both sexes. The upper garment (*uttariya*) and girdle band (*mekhala*) appear to have been of very early use. References to fuller dress of men and women of different ranks and occupations are also not meagre.

Mention is made in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas of the single piece garment known as *dhoti* (for men) and

1. *Oṭavah* and *tantavah* (Kath. Sam XXIII, 1; Atharva Veda XIV, 2, 51, 1, 45) *atah* and *prachina tana* (Taitt Sam VI, 1, 1, 3) *Paryasa* and *aonchahada*? (Sat. Brah III, 1, 2, 13.)

siri (for women) then called *vasas*. It was made of threads constituting warp and woof. It had borders and fingers, and ornamental 'embroideries'. The closely woven wider border (*nivi-anchala* in Bengali) is referred to (R.v. II, 53, 2; Av. IV, 2, 51) from which suspends the loose and long unwoven fringe and strikers².

The dhoti and siri (*vasas*) had only one border (*nivi*), the other end being much plainer (which in men's case is tucked behind even at present) to which belonged the chaffs (*tusha*) or *chhilkā* as it is called now. Mention is made of *Asokā* (Sat. Brah. III, 1, 2, 13), *atirakā* (Kath. Sam. XXIII, 1) and *alīkās* (Tat. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3) which are flower, star and spotty patterns embroidered all over the cloth just as now-a-days.

For ritual purposes the cloth had to be unbleached and unwashed (Sat. Brah. III, 1, 2, 13) but ordinarily it was worn white (R.v. VII, 33, 1). Dyed cloths (*vāj*, Sam. XXX 12; tat. Brah. III, 4, 7, 1) with rich gold thread brocades were affected (warm) by gay young women (Rv. I, 92, 4; X. 1, 6). Red and gold borders are indicated by their comparison with the horizon at sunrise and sun set. The house-holder of the *Vṛtya* Group favoured dark blue (*Krishna*) cloths and borders (Pancha Brah. XVII, 14—16; Kath. Srauta Sutra XXII, 4).

Out of the plain cloth *vasas* *vasana* (R.v. I, 95, 7) and *vastra* (R.v. I, 26, 17) with or without borders, fringes and colours, varieties of scarfs, veils, cloaks, tight-jackets and bust bodices were made. The manner of wearing is indicated by the cloth (*vasas*) being tied and the girt which implies trucks and knots. The border (*nivi*) was differently worn. The styles are shown by the elaborate pleats and artistic waste-knots (*nivi-bandha*) of men and women in the early sculptures as in Ellora and other places, and classical paintings at Ajanta and other places, and also in poetry. For instance the *Vṛtyas* displayed the hanging ornamental fringe by tucking only one

1. *Himya* (R.v. I, 34, 1), *dasa* (Sat. Brah. III, 3, 2, 9, IV, 2, 2, 11; At. Brah. VII, 32).
2. *Praghata* (tat. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3; Kath. Sam. XXIII, 1; Sata. Brah. III, 1, 2, 13).

For further details vide Sarkar's *Ancient India* wherefrom a summary is made here.

corner of it as it is done even now by several people in the United and other Provinces. The *nivi* knot was so fashioned as to form a pouch wherein magic herb could be borne in (Av. VIII, 6, 20). Women tie their *nivi* on the right side of the hip, it then being covered by the upper garment. Ushas is said to have a special style of wearing rich brocated cloth displaying her bosom (R. v. I. 92, 4).

The upper part of the body of men and women was covered with separate garment, either a loose wrap like *upavasana*, *parya-nahana*, *adhivāsa*, or tailor made close-fitting jacket bodice, cloak like the *pratidhi*, *drapi*, and *atka* the bride had her *upavasana* (Av. XIV, 2, 49 & 65) or scarf and veil and the *vāsa* or *sāri* that fluttered high up in the air was an *uttariya* or scarf (R. v. X, 102, 2). Soma in the ritual had his *paryanahana* (wrapper) in addition to *upinahana* (foot wear) and *ushnisha* (head gear). The gown (*adhivāsana*) was an overgarment worn by princes over their inner and outer garments (R. v. V. 1). Its identification is suggested by the simile that forests are *anadhivāsa* of mother earth, thus it implies a long, loose-flowing dressing gown for men and women. The *atka* and *drapi* are close-fitting gold embroidered vest both for men and women, *atka* for only, a long and fully covering close-fitting cloak, bright and beautiful, the stuff being bleached cotton, interwoven or embroidered with gold thread. *Pratidhi* refers to bride's attire consisting of one or two strips, specially made cloth drawn across or cross-wise over the bust and tied at the back to serve as a bodice or like the short tight bust-bodice (*kanchulika*) of later days.

The *peśas* of the Vedic literature were the originals of *peśwāz* and *ghāgra* of the present day. They were gold embroidered cloth generally the design being artistic and intricate, and the inlay of gold heavy and brilliant. The *nritu* is pleated skirt made of brocated cloth.

A large number of head dresses are referred to *viz.*, *ushnisha*, *Sipra*, *Stapa*, *Kaparda*, *Opasa*, *Sitika*, *Kurira*, *Kumbha* *Jata* *mauli*, *Kirita*, *Karanda*, *śirastraka*, *Kuntala* *Keśabandha*, *dhaminidra*, *aloka*, *chūḍā* and *pattas*¹.

1. Vide *Manasiara Chap.* XI, IX see illustrative plates no.

The ushniṣa is mentioned very early as a characteristic head dress of Vratya chieftain (Av XV, 2, 1). It was worn by kings also¹. Sipra is mentioned (Rv. V. 54, 11; VII, 7, 25) as a helmet to be used in battle. Stapa and hiranya-stāpa are the conical caps wherefrom the Persian topi and the bridal topara have developed. Kaparda was worn in front on the right side of the head (Rv V 54, 11). Opaśa of Indra was like the volt of the heaven (Rv 1, 173, 6 VIII, 14, 6). Sitika, Kurira, and Kumbha were the hair dresses for women. Regarding the dressing of the sculptural image the standard śilpa śāstra mentions that the jaṭā (matted hair) and mukuṭa (diadem) are worn by Brahmā and Śiva: Kiriṭa and mukuṭa by N rayapa (Viṣṇu) other minor gods wear Karaṇḍa and mukuṭa. The love goddess Rati wears jaṭā, maulimandala or kuntala. Sarasvatī and Savitrī put on Keśabandha or kuntala. Among the kings chakravartin and Adhirāja wear Kiriṭa. Narendrapuṭa on Karaṇḍa parśnika and śirastraka. Patra-paṭṭa is suited to Paṭṭadhara kings, ratna-paṭṭa to Parśnika, pushpa paṭṭa to Paṭṭadhara and pushpamalya (flower wreath) to the Prahāraka and Astragraha Kings. The queens of these nine classes of kings put on respectively kuntala, mukuṭa, keśabandha, dhammilla, alaka, and chudā, the last three queens not being entitled to put on any crown.

The height of a crown varies with the importance of the divine or royal bearers. The number of gold pieces and precious jewels in the crowns also vary in accordance with the importance of the gods, goddesses, kings and queens. Footwear was also not unknown. Padvīśa which implies leggings (for a horse) is clearly mentioned (Rv 1, 166, 16). Valurina-pada (Rv. 1, 133, 2) is footguards used by chiefs in battles. Upanaha (Av. XX 133, 4; Taitt. Sam. V. 4, 4, 4; Śat. Bra V. 41, 3, 10) is a sandal used in rituals as shoes made of skin, black and pointed.

More inferences can be made from the pre-vedic statuary discovered at Mohenjo-daro and the extensive sculptures and painting of the post vedic period. From this source it is sufficiently clear that the priestly dress was different from warrior's garment, and labourer's

1. Kātha Sam. XIII, 10, Taitt. Sam. 111, 4, 1, 4;
Śat. Brah. III, 3, 2, 3, V 3, 5, 2, 3,
XIV, 2, 1, 18 see also Muir Skt. Text IV 4, 3).

loin cloth. In civil life man and woman had different dresses for use at different times. It is not unlikely that the night dress and sleeping suit were different from those used in public and on special occasions.

The Vāsas both for men and women seem to have been the garment to cover in various manner the lower part of the body

The upper part of the body was decorated with simple and tailored dresses. The cloak and overcoat and dressing gown formed the full dress. The headgears and footwears anticipated the twentieth centuries development in dressing made by the most fashionable western countries.

This perfection in dress in ancient India must have been preceded by the corresponding development in producing the dress materials, cotton, silk, wool, and skin, as well as weaving and tailoring. Cotton formed the chief material for the textile industry. Its weaving, spinning, darning and dyeing processes have been elaborately described. Wool from sheep (avika) was in extensive use. Its preparation is mentioned in detail. Silk is more common than wool; two of its varieties (tarpya and kshauma) are frequently mentioned. Skins of black antelope were in common use. Maruts wore deer-skins. Sages put on brown and tanned skins. Bark dresses are also mentioned. Skirts made of Kuśa grass were worn by the sacrificer's wife at the time of certain sacrifice.

The indigenous mode of dressing still persists excepting a very small number of government officials and their families to some extent of the Muslim and British periods. The original mode depicted above was no doubt in vogue during some 2000 years between the period of the Vedas and the rule of the Pathans from 12th Century. The dress is the only thing in our life which has remained least affected by foreign contact.

Ornaments:—Like clothes references to ornaments to decorate the different parts of the body may be gathered in abundance from the Vedic and post-vedic literature including poetry as well as from sculptures and paintings. Ornaments made mostly of metals and jewels as also of shells with great artistic skill and aesthetic are found to decorate the top head, forehead, ear,

nose, neck, chest, upper and middle, and lower part of arms, fingers, middle body, waist, ankles and toes.

The Mohenjodaro figures (of B.C. 3000) show ornaments like fillets for the head, ear-rings, necklaces, girdles with beads of carnelian, armlets, finger-rings, and anklets. The rich people made them of gold. The poor had them made of copper, shell, bone and terra-cotta.

In the Vedic literature references are made to the ear-rings (Karnasobhana, Rv. II, 33, 10) garlands for the neck and chest (rukma-vaksha), jewels for the neck (marugriva, Rv. I, 122, 14), bracelets and anklets (Rv. I, 166, 8; V. 54, 11).

In the post-Vedic general literature as also in poetical description ornaments for the different parts of the body are frequently mentioned. A general classification is met with in the technical works like the Śilpa-Sāstra. The standard treatise, the Manasara (Chap 4) refers to the lists of ornaments in great detail mentioning the method of making them and manner of wearing them. Thus for the decoration of the head of men and women are prescribed diadem (kiriṭa) of various kinds, fillet for the forehead (Śiro-vibhūṣaṇa), crest-jewel (Chudāmaṇi), combs for the hair (chulika) and also other ornaments of the hair, Keśakūṭaka mallikā (of flower pattern), purima worn on the head terminating at ears, small fillets (bāla-paṭṭa) for the forehead, and star ornament (tilaka) worn between the eye brows. For the ears rings and pendants of various kinds are mentioned, viz. Kundala, taṭanka, and makara bhūṣaṇa¹. For the neck and chest are prescribed chains of 108 strings of pearls (hāra) and of 64 strings of pearls (ardhahāra), necklace (mālā), garlands of wild flower pattern (Vana-mālā), laces of star pattern (nakshatra mālā) made of 37 precious stones corresponding to the number of the stars, and strings (dāman) worn round the shoulders.

For the arms one prescribed the armlets for the root of the arms (bāhu-mūla valaya), for the fore arm (prakoshṭha-valaya) for upper arms (Keyūra), for middle-arm (kaṭaka) for fore-arm bracelets made of jewels (maṇibandha-kalapa) and jewelled wrist-lets (kankaṇa).

1. These are fully illustrated in the Ajanta paintings and Ellora sculptures (See Plates).

Fingers are decorated with simple gold or silver rings (*anguliyaka*) and jewelled rings (*ratnānguliyaka*).

The middle body is decorated with chords and chains round the chest (*pura-sūtra*) round the female bosoms (*stana-sūtra*) and round the chest of both sexes gold chains (*svarga-sūtra*), girdles round the belly (*udara-bādhā*) girdle round the waist (*mekhalā*) chains round the loin (*kaṭi-sūtra*), and golden bodices, jackets, cuirasses (*suvarāṇa kaśchuka*).

Legs are also luxuriously decorated with bracelets round the legs, anklets (*napura*) of various patterns, and the net ornaments for the fingers and the feet (*pāda-ālā-vibhāṣhāna*).

The general literature and poems in particular lend support to the above. Sculptures of Ellora and paintings of Ajanta and other places fully demonstrate these and other ornaments.

The artistic skill of these ornaments are recognised even now and rich and fashionable people still take patterns from these ornaments. Even the foreign ladies appreciate their decorative values. The economic prosperity of the ancient Hindus is also demonstrated by these ornaments. Their cultural importance and artistic outlook are obvious.

HOUSE AND FURNITURES

Like natural food comprising uncooked vegetables, fruits, milk and flesh etc. which sustain life, and the natural skin and hair that protect the body from the inclemency of weather, there are also natural cave dwelling etc. wherein living beings can take shelter to protect themselves from the sun, the rain, and the wind. Human skill and art were however, demonstrated, as in the preparation of food and clothes, in the matter of house-building also. The degrees of achievement in this matter are judged by the regularly made houses in respect of their required accommodation in a hygienic condition, durability based on materials and scientific knowledge of workmanship, and aesthetics or beauty and symbolic expression which satisfy the artistic craving of an educated mind.

The first human effort at constructing dwelling is shewn everywhere in cave-houses which were made in imitation of natural caves for which no foundations or other devices for stability had to be provided. The artificial caves excel the natural ones in matters of openings and provision for light. The early cave houses were not partitioned into rooms nor was much attention paid to polish up the floor, walls and the ceiling. But there was an extraordinary improvement in the rock-cut monasteries and temples with natural wall and roofs and storeys in the decoration of the interior with wonderful chaitya roof, colonnaded partition, comfortable cells, halls and skilfully carved sculptures and awe-inspiring paintings on the walls and roofs. The houses built overground, however, demand the scientific calculation of load and the necessary strength of foundations, walls and roofs in addition to the provision for doors and windows, weather and climate, light and ventilation etc.

The durability of a house depends upon the kind and manner of dressing various building materials. The softer and more handy materials like mud, bamboo, reed, straw etc. are used by builders of various skill, experience, and training. The more resourceful builders of economic and political stability handle more lasting materials like burnt brick and stones of various quality and aim at a more durable structure. The real cultural achievement in the science and art of building is further indicated by the orientation, composition of members, distribution of rooms, consideration of drainage, light and ventilation etc. Architecture proper provided moreover a beautiful look and symbolic expression both externally as well as internally. The architectural beauty consists in well measured proportions and dimensions and in symmetry, uniformity and harmony, as well as in balanced mouldings or ornaments for the members comprising storeys and stairs floors and ceilings, roofs and spires, pillars and arches, verandahs and balconies, porches and porticoes, doors and windows, skylights and ventilators etc.

The condition of houses in India during the Indus valley civilization of B. C. 3250-2750 is demonstrated by the dwelling houses of private individuals and the public baths, halls, and shrines discovered at Mohenjodaro and

Harappa. These houses vary from the smallest ones of two rooms to the large ones of 85 ft frontage and 97 ft. depth with wide entrance hall and door way, porter's lodges, 32 ft square courtyard surrounded by chambers on both ground and upper floors. Such houses were paved with burnt bricks of nearly 27 inches long. They were provided with a covered drain which was connected with vertical drains discharging into small earthenware vessels sunk beneath the courtyard pavement for purposes of upstairs privies. No distinctive features are noticeable in halls looking like shrines which contain phallic object apparently for worship.

The great public bath at Mohenjodaro corresponds to the religious tanks attached to the temples of later ages and also served the purpose of a regular hydro-pathic establishment. It has several annexes. It consists of an open quadrangle with verandahs backed by galleries and rooms on all sides. In the middle of the quadrangle there is a swimming bath 39 ft long, 23 ft broad and 3 ft deep, which is provided with flights of steps at the ends. There are wells from which it is filled. There appears to have been an upper storey also. In order to make foundations secure and water light the lining of the tank was made of finely dressed bricks laid in gypsum mortar about 4 ft thick; backing this wall an inch-thick damp-proof bitumen further strengthened by another thin wall of burnt brick behind it; then came a packing of crude brick and behind this again another solid rectangle of burnt brick encircling the whole.

These structures of B. C. 3000 clearly indicate the engineering skill and the ability of masons to handle hard materials like burnt bricks of very big size. Durability is demonstrated by their existence for so many thousand years. The weather and soil condition as well as the influence of the climate and the effect of the flood from the nearly Indus which frequently went in split appear to have been well calculated. But the architectural beauties are altogether missing. No effort was made to give an artistic look to these buildings externally or internally. There were no spires, no pillars, no mouldings, no windows etc only the utility and stability were aimed at.

No such objects of the Vedic period which came next and continued from B. C. 2500 to 1000 have been discovered. But particulars of a greater variety of constructions showing great engineering skill and much architectural beauty have been supplied by literary description contained in different branches of the Vedic literature. Such description can hardly be possible from mere poetic imagination which itself is based on some concrete objects that the poets might have seen or heard of.

Atri is stated to have been thrown into a machine room with a hundred doors, Vasishtha desired to have a three-storeyed dwelling. Mention is made of a sovereign who sat down in his substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand pillars of which later examples still exist in south India, and of residential houses as are said to be vast, comprehensive, and the sand-loored Mitra and Varuṇa are represented as occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates.

In addition to the noblemen's mansions called *harmya* and *śālā* and king's palaces or *prāsāda* comprising several storeys particulars of smaller houses are also available. Such houses were built with timber pillars and beams in various positions, vertical (*upamit*) horizontal (*pratimit*) and slanting (*parimit*). Bamboos were used for the frame-work of roofing. The *akshu* was the wicker-work or split bamboo lining over which was placed the thatch of hay, straw or long reedy grass fastened by net to keep the straw bundles intact. Fine clay for flooring and reed work for walls completed the frame-work of such a small house which can still be seen in poorer parts of Bengal.

In keeping with the requirements of such a house for a family of Brahminic custom in a village settlement the accommodation provided was of modest character. There were several side-rooms with a central hall in bungalow pattern. The hall of fire-altar (*agnisālā*) probably in the centre served the purpose of both sacrifice and sitting room. With it was connected the sacrificial store-room (*havirdhāna*) and women's apartments or bed-room (*patnī sadāna*). Such a 'well proportioned house' was covered by a many-winged roofing. Houses of other varieties must have developed according to the

regional conditions and requirements of the builders. For honouring the dead and keeping their memory alive round and square types of cemeteries were built of properly dressed stones of various kinds. These *smaśāna* buildings were of three types known as *vastu* or reliquary of bones which is still retained in the name *kapila-vastu*, *griha* or dwelling house for the dead and *prajñanam* or memorial stone slabs and pillars which are the prototypes of the stupas and monolithic pillars of the later age.

In the absence of idol worship there was no regular shrine or temple. But fire altars for the priestly class were built with burnt bricks showing engineering skill and geometrical calculation. Particulars of the shape of ten types of altars and the bricks which were employed for their construction have been supplied by Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. Every one of the altars bearing the shape of a falcon, a heron, an equilateral triangle, two triangles joined at the base, a wheel without and with sixteen spokes square or circular vessel or tube, and a triangular or circular tortoise was constructed of five layers of bricks which together came up to the height of the knee in some cases ten or fifteen layers and proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of 200 bricks so that the whole altar contained a thousand; the first, third and fifth layers were divided into hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form. The area of every altar, whatever its shape might be falcon, wheel, tortoise etc. had to be equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ square *puruṣa* or the height of a man with uplifted arms. Thus squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares; oblongs were turned into squares and squares into oblongs; and circle had to be constructed equal in area to a given square.

To suit the advanced domestic and public life of a highly cultured people there were public assembly halls both in villages and towns, rest houses, and school buildings. Roads, bridges, causeways, gateways, royal establishments, castles for nities defences against the enemy can also be recognised.

The articles of furniture which are mentioned give more reality especially to the residential buildings and civil architecture. The Rigveda refers to 'married women occupying their commodious talpas, the new and prospective brides lying on the fashionable vahyas, other single women of the household on the broad proshthas, and a maiden on a śayana together with paryanka and the ordinary couches or bedsteads. The talpa is the nuptial bed whereupon alone talpya or a legitimate son could be born. Vahya is a lighter structure used specially in marriage ceremony of getting the bride and the bridegroom lain on bed side by side, which ceremony may also be performed upon asandi which is a humbler settee proshathas on a combination of a settee and a coffer' and were also used as long benches, couches or beds, which were also sent as dowry along with the bride to her husband's home. They could also be fixed against the walls and furnished with turned legs. The proshthapada or arm chaired and stretched-legged gentlemen indicates an easy chair. The śayana or ordinary bedsteads was also meant for 'beloved woman or maiden who felt pain of the silken coverlet because of the absence of a male companion. Pururavas and Urvaśi slept on such a soft couch. The asandi and paryanka originated with the ruling nobility were also used in the priest's dwelling houses. The King's asandi was carried by two persons, while a god's asandi called the throne of justice' was carried by four persons. Paryanka is a magnified asandi and it developed to be of 'unmeasured splendour, having some arrangement of feet and frame, and straps stretched lengthwise and crosswise, with head-piece of the couch, the supporting back, and cushion and pillow for the head'.

Various other smaller seats and smaller articles of furniture are referred to throughout the Vedic literature. Various kinds of sacrificial seats, known and used even now, as prastara, barhis, and kurcha are made of grass of various sorts. Sadas are seats for Sadaryas or members of society. Kaśipu is a mat and brisi is a cushion seat. Nadvata and kata are rotten mats Piṭha is a low wooden seat.

In the post-vedic period from B. C. 1000 to 1000 A. D. the epics of the Brahmagas and the literature of the Buddhists and Jains supply details which mutually

corroborate the particulars of the vedic literature and pre-vedic finds of Mohenjodaro and other places.

In the city of Ayodhya as stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* extensive buildings were beautifully arranged. Assembly halls gardens and alms-houses were most elegant. The steeple of temples and other houses were as resplendent as the crests of mountains and bore hundreds of pavilions like the celestial palace of the chief among the Gods. The *Mahābhārata* refers to various halls. Charming lodgings were built for the royal guest at the *Rajasūya* sacrifice. They were surrounded on all sides by well built high walls. They were free from obstructions. They were provided with doors of uniform height but of various quality and were inlaid with numerous metal ornaments. The windows were protected by golden lattices and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent. The rooms were provided with excellent furniture and furnished with commodious seats and bed steads. The houses had by them charming lakes and ranges of ornamental plants.

By the time of Gautama Buddha of the 6th or 5th century the art of building was recognised as a well developed science "we need not therefore feel surprised" says Vincent Smith in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, "when the *piprahwa* Stupa gives us definite information that India on the frontier of Nepal in 450 B. C. included skilled masons, accomplished stone-cutters, and dainty jewellers. The masonry of the stupa is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great sandstone coffer could not be better made; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal, and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics, display a high degree of skill in the arts of the lapidary and goldsmith".

In Buddha's time buildings were regularly classified into five groups of which examples all over India are still extant. *Guhās* were rock cut buildings like those at Ellora, Ajanta, Nasik, etc. described in a later section. *Prāsādas* are storeyed buildings. *Harmyas* are more imposing palaces. *Ardhayogas* are ordinary bungalow type of residential buildings, of which the roof consists of two parts joined at the top in a slanting form and are thus so called. And *Viharas* are the well known

monasteries built for the monks of which chaityas or churches with altar, aisles and other peculiarities are special varieties. Stupas with their ornamental railings and charming gates as at Sanchi and other places and free standing pillars with inscription some of the monumental buildings. Elsewhere are referred to the wonderful temples of the Jains at mount Abu, Parasnath, Palitana, Gwalior Khajuraho, Chitor, Bengal, Ahamedabad and other places. In the south of India two types of Jain temples exist. The Basati contains images of Tirthankaras and Bettas combine monasteries and temples with colossal images of Gomata.

The extensive residences comprised 'dwelling rooms, retiring rooms, store rooms, service halls, halls with fire places in them, store houses, closets' cloisters, halls for exercise, wells, sheds for wells, bath rooms, halls attached to bath rooms and ponds, and open-roofed pavilions.' Even a devotee of Buddha is stated to have built for his own use 'a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, a one peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store room, a refectory, a fire-room a kitchen, a privy' a place to walk in a house to walk in a well, a well house, a lotus pond, and a pavilion, and hot-sitting bath which comprised an antechamber, a hot-room, and a pool to bathe in'.

The Buddhist canonical texts refer to articles of furniture of much improved style. Various asandi or large couches are mentioned some of those being covered with canopies. Âsandaka are rectangular chairs. Sattangas were used as arm-chairs and sofa with arms to it. Bhoddapitham is a state chair. Eka-padaka pitham is a chair raised on a pedestal, and pithika is a cushioned chair. Amalaka-vantika-pitham is a chair with many legs. Phalaka is a leaning board. Benches were made long enough for three persons. Bedsteads of various sizes and types are mentioned. Mention is also made of carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains, coverlets of various materials and designs, mattresses, rich elephant housings, panther and antelope skins, bolsters, floor cloth, mosquito curtains, handkerchief, and spittoon.

At the close of the so-called Buddhist period about the beginning of the Christian era when an effort to

revive Brahmanism was made by the Sunga and Mitra dynasties, a standard text *Manasara Vastuśāstra* dealing most methodically with the practical construction of the various architectural and sculptural objects appears to have been compiled. And it seems that on the basis of this standard text all the structures were built not only in the south but also in the North including west and the East of which the examples still exist from the 6th Century onwards. It is also interesting to note that this text bears striking resemblance with a similar text of about the same age (B. C 25) of the Roman architect Vitruvius, on the basis of which all European architecture grew up from the 16th Century.

In the treatise of *Manasara* rules and practical directions for all kinds of buildings and their composing members and mouldings are described with alternative sets of measurement in great detail and in a scientific manner. In the eight introductory chapters full accounts are given of the system of measurement, the necessary training and qualifications of the different classes of architects, selection of building sites, testing of soil, dialling and finching out cardinal points for a correct orientation of buildings mathematical calculations, planning and designing and a proper classification of all possible and probably then extant kinds of building and sculptures. Buildings are grouped under *harmya*, *yāna* and *paryanka*. *Harmya* includes all types of buildings proper, such as *prāsāda* or palace *maṇḍapa* or pavilion, *sandha* or edifice, *śāla* or mansions *ranga* or theatres, and *prapā* or humbler houses (lit alm-house) The *yāna* implies conveyances which are described under *syandana* or litter *śibikā* or palanquin, and *ratha* or chariot.¹ *Paryanka* means literally couches and bedsteads but it includes *panjara* or cages, *manchali* or *mancha* or platform, *phalakāsana* or wooden seats, tables chairs, ward-robies etc.

1. *Vyoma-yāna* (and *vimāna*) implies aerial car. The *Pushpaka vimāna* by which Rama returned from ceylon to Ayodhya was clearly an aeroplane. It is corroborated by the poetic description of the *Meghaduta* or cloud messenger. The art of making and plying aeroplane appears to have been known in India before it developed in European and other countries.

In the next forty-two chapters are described all necessary things concerning buildings of various type. Thus are given the alternative sets of measurement, proportion, ornament and other details of houses in villages, towns and cities, and their foundations, dimensions, pillars and thin component parts such as pedestals bases, shafts, capitals and entablatures, storeys varying from one to twelve in ordinary houses and upto seventeen in gateways attached both to temples and residential buildings. The artistic arrangement of storeyed mansions in as many as ten rows are described, together with their attached buildings and detached pavilions, compounds and courts and gatehouses. Particulars of all houses are given regarding their compartments, hall chambers, doors windows and other openings. Steps and stair cases for houses, mountains and rivers and ponds etc. are also described with details of construction. The courtyards and quadrangles are similarly described. All necessary particulars are given of royal courts and palaces as well as of thrones and crowns prescribed for gods and Kings and their consorts.

Thrones for gods and Kings are described under nine types viz. Padmasana, padma—kesara, padma-bandha, padma-bhadra, Sri-bandha, Srivisala, Sri-bhadra Bhadrāsana, and pada-bandha. Charming details are furnished for facilitating construction. Their reality is ensured by the extant examples to be found over sculptures and paintings. Structural details and constructional particulars of the articles of furniture are supplied under scientific classification and precision. The domestic furniture of this historical age include all necessary articles like lamp-parts, fan, mirror, basket, chest, box for oil, wardrobe, balance, swing and palanquin, cars and chariots, coaches and bedsteads and cages and nets for domestic animals boar, cat, etc. and birds like parrot, partridge, goose, duck, cock, dove, mongoose etc.

In this standard text sculpture has been treated as the handmaid of architecture. In the concluding twenty chapters are described sculptural details of the idols of duties of the Brahmanas, Buddhists, and Jains, statues of great personages, and images of animals and birds. The extant examples corroborate the conclusion of this text. The master pieces of sculpture and fresco have been found in temples in monasteries and in chaitya halls.

Elsewhere a survey of the existing temples has been given. So far as the ancient remains are concerned no structure in complete condition is available before the 6th century A. D. Although most of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina temples have been destroyed by the invaders still there remain sufficient number which the archaeologists have classified under the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Chalukyan styles. More comprehensive and scientific are the division made in the *Manasara* and other architectural texts. According to the latter source buildings of all character are classified as *Nāgara* or northern, *Dravida* or southern, and *Vesara* or eastern. The northern style is distinguished by its elongated shape and horizontal spire. The Dravidian style bears the massive shape and storeyed tower. And *Vesara* or the eastern style is characterised by its round shape and spiral spire.¹

Various kinds of houses and furniture of which short references have been quoted above should be enough to show that the primitive limitation is nowhere noticed. The cave temples themselves, as the temple (of *Kailāsa*) at Ellora and other places show are construction of much engineering skill and architectural beauty. They are not the natural caves lacking intelligent workmanship of skilled masons, where primitive men and animals reside. The extant buildings, being predominantly temples, wherein the exuberance of fancy and luxury is exhibited, may indicate the medieval tendency. But the references to almost all kinds of civil buildings and to the articles of furniture which are required only in the residential houses make it perfectly clear that the Hindus of the Vedic and pre-Vedic periods reached modern level of civilization in these respects. In certain matters the ancient buildings appear to have been better than the modern ones. No modern buildings will stand comparison with the ancient ones of which the remains are still extant as shown above in matter of bold construction, luxurious ornamentation and the ever lasting nature of their life. The colossal temples of the south, north, west and east of India from the seventh and eighth centuries and the civil structures of Mohenjodaro from B. C. 3000 have been defying nature and standing almost intact without any repair.

1. See the plates for examples.

Again the provision made in ancient buildings for orientation facilitating passage of the sun's shine and air is now impracticable owing to the peculiar congestion in towns and the blind imitation of the foreign styles of different climate and soil.

In short the cultural achievements of the ancient Hindus in the matter of houses appear to be higher than what the modern civilization has achieved in India.

The articles of food and various dishes, the great varieties of clothes and ornaments, as well as dwelling houses and articles of furniture and temples and forts, and fortified towns, indicating efficient industrial activities of the ancient Hindus, point to their abilities in producing raw materials which are the basis of all finished goods concerning food, clothes and houses.

PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS

Agriculture:—Like animals and birds men at the primitive stage of civilization could not produce any grain on which they lived. The principle of agriculture in sowing seeds and reaping the harvest in much larger quantity was understood and practised in the medieval stage. But at that stage all the modern processes of the science of agriculture *viz.*, selection of soil, its cultivation, manuring, and watering, etc., were not sufficiently developed. The intense religious nature of the medieval society made the people fatalists, they could not bring the nature under control by the modern scientific methods; on the other hand they prayed to God for removing pests, increasing fertility of the soil, giving water by rain, although from the time of Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century before Christ irrigation canals were made for supply of water to the agriculturists.

It is, however, clear that the art of producing corn was known even in B. C. 3000. The discovery of live wheat at Mohenjodaro proves the knowledge of agriculture beyond doubt among the pre-vedic people in India.

In the Vedic period from B. C. 2500, it is clear, that vegetable, fruits, roots, cotton etc. were produced by the agricultural methods. The various scientific operations, *viz.* ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing are

elaborated in the Brahmana class of the Vedic literature¹. Even the earlier samhita literature mentions that for certain crops there could be two harvests in a year.² Various kinds of grain were produced, viz. rice (vrihi) barley (Yava), maize (godhūma), bentils (masura), beans (mudga, misha) and sesamum (tila)³ etc. Definite time of sowing the seed and reaping the harvest for various crops is specified.⁴ Thus barley is sown in winter and harvested in summer. The first crop of rice is sown in rains which ripens in autumn. Beans and sesamum ripe in winter. Cotton, silk, wool, etc. are also agricultural products. Like, rice, wheat etc cotton is still extensively produced. Production of silk was not extensive. Wool was not also produced on farming basis in ancient India.

The manure of Cowdung (karisha) is referred to and the value of the natural manure from animals is estimated⁵.

But merely prayers were made for the success of the farmer, for growth of corn, fall of rain increase of cattle and exorcisms against pests, wild animals, and robbers.

The Agricultural implements are casually referred to throughout the Sanskrit literature. At the early time of the Samhita literature the plough is said to have been so large and heavy that it could be drawn by a team not less than of twenty-four oxen⁶.

The Arthashastra of Kautilya mentions special officers for centralizing the inspection of cattle, pasture, and forests. Gautama (XI, 20-21) allows powers to the cultivators to lay down rules to safeguard their interests.

No full śāstra (science) or treatise dealing exclusively with agriculture has been found out yet. The casual references quoted from general literature are however sufficient to show that the ancient Hindus were familiar with the principles of agriculture. But the

1. Compare Śatapatha Brahmana, I, 6, 1, 3.

2. Taittiriya Samhita, V, 1, 7, 3.

3. Compare Vaj. sam, XVIII, 12.

4. Taitt Sam. VII, 2, 10, 2.

5. Śat Brah. 2, 1, 1, 7; Av 111, 14, 3, 4; XIX, 31, 3.

6. Kath. Sam XV, 2.

present condition, however, indicates that the necessary development with the progress of time was not maintained, in this respect as in many other fields. It appears to have been due to the smaller need, greater fertility, lesser competition, more regularity of rainfall, and freedom from exploitation by the more intelligent but selfish people.

Minerology—The raw materials like metals, gems, coal, salt etc. are not produced or multiplied by sowing seed etc. They are the natural deposits. They lie hidden beneath the surface of the earth. Wood, timber, stones, marbles etc. are also the free gifts of nature. They are not generally kept concealed and plants and trees etc. can also be multiplied by plantation. All these materials may be classified under minerology. The activities of this science consist in unearthing the natural deposits and in spotting and discovering the surface products.

This source of wealth enriches the people more easily. In India this rich source is still undeveloped. But the principles of the science were not unknown to the ancient Hindus. Even in B. C. 3000 Gold and other metals were in use at Mohenjodaro. The Vedic literature also bears copious references to all these materials. Digging of wells for water may be cited as an instance. But the modern development was lacking and the Hindus did not keep pace with the modern development in this respect also.

MANUFACTURE OF GOODS

Industry :—The chief concern of industrial activities is to effect the conversion of raw materials into furnished goods ready for consumption. We have seen very early references to numerous dishes made out of several food-stuffs, such as grains, cereals, vegetables, fruit, salt, spices, milk, honey, fish and flesh. Dressing and ornaments were also made out of the agricultural and mineral products, such as cotton, silk, wool, metals and shells etc. Houses and furniture also were constructed with reed, bamboo, wood, stone, earth, brick, and metals. Sculptures and paintings also required conversion of clay, marble and stone and colours etc. No finished goods could, however, be produced economically by the effort of single individual. Thus from the very beginning the Indo-Aryan society was founded on

the principle of the division of labour which is reflected in the caste-system. Numerous sub-castes are merely groups of workers each carrying on a single process of an industry as the caste profession. In addition to raw materials, workers with inherited skill and implements, and a big market of consumers in the country itself, the industry required for its development on a large scale the capital-outlay and a scientific organisation only; the state protection was hardly needed as there was not much competition with the outsiders. Traces of improved industrial activities in B. C. 3000 are found in the pre-velic Mohenjo-daro discoveries. Mineral products were in extensive use. Finished goods made of gold, silver, copper, tin and lead have been discovered in large numbers. Ivory, shell faience, etc. were also extensively used. Manufactured goods of stone, bricks, wood, etc. are found in the extant houses, and in the baths, roads, and lanes of the town of Mohenjodaro; semi-precious stones such as rock, crystal, haematite, carnelian, jasper, agate, onyx, etc. were used for making ornaments. References to dress and garments which could be made only of manufactured goods are clear from the bronze figures of dancing girls and other images. The weapons, such as bow, arrow, axe, dagger and mace, and the implements, such as hatchets, sickles, saws, chisels and razors of copper and bronze indicate further progress in industry. The wheel-made pottery, which supplied domestic vessels, such as goblets or drinking cups, jars, heaters, offering stands, etc. almost complete the picture of the industrial activities of Indians some five hundred years before the time assigned to the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic period.

The Yajurveda (yaj. San XXX, 7) has supplied a list of occupations which show a striking development in industry in the Vedic period from B. C. 2500. This list includes ploughers and cultivators, fishermen, butchers, potters, smiths, smelters, fire-rangers, washermen, barbers, makers of jewels, baskets, ropes, dyes, chariots, and bows, etc. Manufactures of metal goods from gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, etc. are also referred to. Gold coins of definite weight, indicating a gold currency are mentioned.¹

1. Nishka (Śat Brah. V, 1, 2, 9, 5, 28)
 Aṣṭapāṇḍa (kath. Sam. XI, 1)
 Śatamāna (Śat. Brah. V 5, 5, 10).

More extensive lists of industrial workers are available in the Buddhist-Jain literature as well as throughout classical sanskrit literature. The *Jatakas* (VI and IV 137) mention the wood-workers, carpenters including cabinet-makers, wheelwrights, builders of houses, conveyance makers, and ship builders and mariners, workers in metals including gold and silver are also mentioned. Workers in stone, leather-workers and ivory-workers are also included.

Such workers are mentioned also in the epigraphical records. For instance the Nasik inscriptions (no. 1133, 1137) specify manufacturers of hydraulic engines and weavers. The Junnu inscription (no. 1165) mentions the bamboo-workers, braziers, jewellers, potters, oil-millers, basket-makers, dyers, painters, fish-mongers, butchers, and garland makers.

No references to big industrial concerns are however, found in these non-technical treatises. The idea of exploitation of manual workers by investing large capital and organising the industries does not seem to have developed in ancient India. The spirit of adventure was not however lacking as is shewn by the colonization of distant islands and the expedition of religious mission in India. Thus the Sanskrit culture and Hindu civilization migrated far and wide but did not endeavour to exploit others materially. Thus in industrial matter there was no trace of primitive slavery but the medieval intensity of religion prevailed. The tendency of combining individual liberty with the sovereignty of state, as the ideal of the modern civilization, is reflected in the ideal of the modern civilization, is reflected in the division of labour in ancient India obviously for industrial purposes.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Trade and Commerce—Trade consists in exchanging or selling of agricultural and mineral raw materials and of industrial products or manufactured goods. Commerce is the interchange of merchandise on a large scale between nations, countries, or individuals especially at long distance. There is no distinction of quality or kind between trade and commerce the only difference being of quantity or volume. But for the progress in commerce bigger markets more efficient

transport facilities, convenient medium of exchange and banking and scientific accounting devices are necessary.

Both small trade and large commerce however require markets or places for stocking and buying and selling of concentrated goods. Such places are centrally situated and must be connected by land or water routes, or by both, and even by the air-routes in these days. An easy and cheap movement of saleable goods wherever they are in demand facilitates both trade and commerce. Commerce in large scale however covers wider areas and greater distance between the centres of buying and selling. Trade between distant countries is also possible when there are cheap facilities for transport. The cheap cost of production and the increased capacity of consumers to buy and also the creation of fashion or taste for new things contribute largely to the progress of trade and commerce. The shrewd traders endeavour to create a false luxurious standard of living for the consumers' goods of cheaper price but of shorter duration serve as a trick of traders and facilitate the exploitation of the consumers. Thus the primitive selfishness of the traders and false sense of civilization of the consumers are noticeable in trade and commerce also.

The motto of 'simple living and high thinking' has an adverse effect upon trade and commerce. And this effect is remarkable in Sanskrit culture and Hindu civilization of the earlier period. In the pre-Vedic Mohenjodaro period of B. C. 3000 the simplicity of living is reflected in the town-plan, in the buildings, in the articles of furniture and ornaments which lack in artistic skill and beauty. But the existence of curved stone etc. for buildings and gold, silver etc. for ornaments which were not locally available at Mohenjodaro indicate clearly that these materials must have been imported from outside on a trading basis. No further details of trade and commerce at that remote part of India is, however, available.

In the Vedic period from B. C. 2500 to 1000 trade must have made great advance. For in the Atharva-Veda, following the tradition of the period, or charm for success in trade is definitely mentioned. In the Rigveda a system of exchange is also referred to. The Panis, who scandalized the Vedic sages by the huge amount of

wealth they amassed, undoubtedly followed the simple system of exchange in their commercial transactions. It will be shewn later that in the Vedic period some kind of coin of gold, silver, and copper was in use and that must have been required for trade facilities only. Sanskrit words for purchase (Kraya), sale (vikraya) and market (haṭṭa), etc. came into use in the later literature.

But the existence of towns (pura etc.) and village (grāma) implies the trading centre therein. They were connected with tracks with wells at intervals and it was calculated to facilitate the growth of business centres at the important junction of the routes. Transport facilities are also referred to Caravans, accompanied by armed escorts, appear to have wandered about the land doing the business of buying and selling.

During the period of the Epics, and the Buddhist and Jain scriptures and Jatakas till the time of the Maurya (B. C. 1000 to 300) there are references to indicate a fairly flourishing condition of trade in India. From about B. C. 800 India was in Commercial connection with different countries lying at great distances. There were both land routes and water-routes between India and foreign lands. There was regular trade between western coast of India and Phœnician coast of Persia. And from this trade connection it was once surmised by Dr. Buhler and others that the Indian merchants picked up in B. C. 800 the method of trade-account, to which the origin of Indian writing was ascribed.

From the times of the Mauryas (B. C. 300 to 100 AD) three great roads ran from Pataliputra, the capital of India in three directions. One of these connected Pataliputra with Nepal through Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī. Another ran from Pataliputra through Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī to Barygaza, otherwise, called Bharukachcha, the modern Broach. The third connected Pataliputra to Bactriana through Mathura (Mutra) and upper Indus valley. This last route was the longest high way of the Empire and the most important in its effect on economic and political life of India. It connected Pataliputra with Gandhara and latter with Bactriana when the Greek Kingdom was established there, and the commercial relations between the valleys of the Ganga and the

Oxus became closer as a result. A mountain track ran from Kabul to the upper valley of the Oxus, east of Bactria. At this place it met another route which passing round Pamir went to Chinese Turkestan and so to Yarkand by the upper Tarim. Further north a route led from Maracanda (Samarkand) in Sogdiana to Kashgar on a Tributary of the Tarim.

These routes carried the Chinese silk on Syria, and Chinese and Indian expansion on land came into conflict by them. The Buddhist missionaries used these routes in their enterprise which brought India and China closer to each other than any economic relation could even do, and the homogeneous culture which Buddhism established from the north of Iran to the west of China must have accelerated the economic activities.

That these trade routes were established by the State itself is clear from the fact that the road-making was a duty of King (Chandragupta Maurya) as laid down in the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra. The road making and the digging of walls are still considered as advancing the religious merits.

In ancient India water ways were also not neglected. India is still reckoned among the greatest sea and colonizing powers of the ancient world. The favourable situation in the centre of the Indian ocean was well utilized, and the Indian civilization radiated to east and west from Madagascar to Tongking through Indian sea borne trade. 'Ships passed between Bharukachha and Babylon on the west, and Suvarnabhumi (Lower Burma) on the east'. An intercourse was kept up with Egypt, directly through the Red sea and indirectly through Persians and Arabians. Commercial relations were maintained with the East coast of Africa as well. But the main port of the Indian trade and shipping passed to the east to the lands colonized by the Indians. Tamralipti the chief port of Bengal, and even Benares and Patna sent out ships to Ceylon and other places.

Ferand thinks that the Indian expansion in Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Indian archipelago began in the third or even the fifth century before Christ. Funan (Southern Cambodia) and Cochin China was first Indianized by Kundinga who flourished according to Pelliot in the first century A. D. at the latest. Indianization

followed in Champa (southern Annam) a century later. Fahien, who landed at the latter gives some idea of the flourishing conditions of the islands of Suvarnadvīpa (sumatra) and Yavadvīpa (lit. island of barley, modern Java)

This intercourse of India with all those foreign countries, as has already been indicated, was not actuated by the hope of material gain, it had primarily the religious motives. It is, as the result of this, that Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism were introduced in these places.

From the time of the Epics, roughly from B. C. 1000 to about 1200 A. D., the internal trade also flourished through the same aim of interchanging cultural and religious rivers. Aryan culture was spread all over the countries by the heroes of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. The sage Agastya is stated to have crossed the Vindhya range which once divided India into North (Āryavarta) and South (Dakṣhinatyā). Similarly the missionaries and emissaries of the kings Asoka, Kanishka, Samudragupta, Harsha, Pulakesin, Rāṣṭrakuṭas Palas, and Senas brought the different parts of the Indian continent into closer contact. In this historical period greater facilities of roads and transport were established. Local goods with special names¹ and quality were exported to distant parts. There were even local coins. The Hundi (handnote) system of banking still continues. The different systems of weight and measure which are still prevalent indicate the flourishing condition of the trade. From about B. C. 450 there are archaeological remains and epigraphical records giving various particulars of the trade facilities. But the want of primitive selfishness and desire to exploit others, as well as the absence of uncivilized competition and the non-interference of the state and ever changing political authority regarding individual liberty did not give rise to commercial enterprise in a big scale.

These are indications, however, that from very early time the state authority allowed and encouraged a sort of trade-union. The term Śreṇī which occurs in the Vedic literature and in Pali (as *seni*) means distinctly

1. As for example, Murshidabad silk, Rameshwaram shells Benares brasswares, South Indian bronze sculptures etc.

in the period of the *smṛiti* literature 'a corporate association' for all kinds of workers such as traders, bankers and also artisans, sailors, herdsmen, tillers of soil (Manu, VIII, 41). The *Mugapakha Jātaka* (IV, 411) specifies eighteen guilds including the workers on wood; metal, leather, etc. As the result of the caste system the professional occupation was handed down from father to son. Thus there came to be the families of smiths, carpenters, potters, etc. which grouped together and formed villages of smiths, carpenters and potters. There were also *śreṇis* of ascetics, bandits and highwaymen.

In matter of the working of the trade corporations in particular there was a president or head, known as *Pamukha* (sanskrit *Pramukha*) in Pali literature. He was an important person at the King's court. The guilds had legislative, judicial and executive powers. Rigid discipline was observed to maintain order within the corporation. The customs of the guilds were always safeguarded by the king and he was obliged to accept their decisions as stated in one of the law books.¹

The discipline in trade and commerce is reflected in the observance of accuracy and honesty in measures and weights followed in buying and selling of goods. In the Hindu system of ancient India an intelligent device was followed so that no deliberate cheating was possible. In matter of measure of length the finger-breadth of a standard size of the buyer or the seller was adopted as the lowest unit and for the weight of goods the smallest unit was a *nīl* or dust-particle which was converted into the unchanging *Rati* seed which could be raised to the higher units of *yava* and *śarshapa* seeds.² In the most civilized countries at present the

1. *Narada Smṛiti*, X, 2, 3.

2. Measure of length (*Manasara*, Chapter II)

8 *Paramanu* (atom)

8 *Rathadhuli*

8 *Balagra*

8 *Likhyas*

8 *Yukas*

8 *Yavas*

12 *Angulas*

24 *Angulas*

4 *Hastas*

8 *Dandas*

1 *Rathadhuli* (ear-dust)

1 *Balagra* (hair tip)

1 *Likhya* (nit)

1 *Yuka* (louse)

1 *Yava* (barley corn)

1 *Angula* (finger's breadth)

1 *Vilasti*

2 *Vilasti* 1 *Ubit* (*hastas*)

1 (*Dhanus* or bow) or *danda* (rod)

1 *Rajju* (string)

standard weight in gold and the standard measure in a yard-stick are presented and enforced by the state. But these standards deteriorate by wear and tear and also by the effects of weather even if there be no intention of deliberate cheating. In the Hindu device these effects were largely counteracted, although a strict uniformity might not have been possible. The king enforced the accuracy and honesty as laid down in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya.

The cultural value and the civilized custom in trade and commerce are clearly demonstrated in the Hindu system of measure and weights.

CURRENCY

Coinage—For the expansion of trade some convenient medium of exchange is necessary. The system of barter by which one thing is exchanged for another is a cumbersome method. By this an accurate and precise valuation of a thing cannot be made, if there be no standard currency. To take a horse in exchange for two cows or a bundle of sugar cane would not permit a proper valuation of any of these things, if the current prices of these things in some standard coin remain unknown and cannot be compared.

Thus with the progress of trade some handy medium of exchange had to be discovered. The most ancient and reliable method appears to have been the gold dust or coins made of other metals also. These coins are the metallic pieces of definite weight authenticated as currency by marks recognised as a guarantee of value¹.

Weight of things (Manu VIII, 123—137).

8 trasa—renu	1 Likṛta		
24 trasa—renu	3 Likṛta	1 Raya—sarshapa	
72 trasa—renu	9 Likṛta	3 Raya—sarshapa	1 Gaura—Sarshapa
43 trasa—renu	45 Likṛta	18 Raya—sarshapa	3 Gaura—1 yava
3 yavas	1 Rati.		

1. Iron coin was in use in Sparta in Greece.

Tin coin was the currency in Maladvipa. Brass coin was in use in China.

Lead coins were used by the Āndhra Kings of India, but coins of gold, silver and copper were the currency during the earlier time of the Vedas and Buddhist literature.

Coinage necessitated a system of notation for counting and of symbols or alphabet of writing. The cardinal numbers 1 to 9, were first determined. The invention of zero (*śunya*) first made in India paved the way for the progress of arithmetic from India through Arabia to Europe and throughout the world. Along with the invention of symbols for cardinal and ordinal numbers alphabets were invented to express articulate sounds representing intellectual thoughts. The system of measures and weights must have preceded the actual coinage in India, because the earliest indigenous coins bear the name of weights, *viz.* *suvarṇa*, *dharāṇa* and *karshapaṇa* etc.

Various systems of weight were introduced very early in the Hindu society. There were different systems for weighing gold, silver and copper with separate names for different weights some of which became the names of coins also. Thus we meet with at least two kinds of gold coins, *viz.* *suvarṇa* and *nishka*, three kinds of silver coins *viz.* *dharāṇa*, *paraṇa*, and *śatamāṇa*, and one kind of copper coin, *viz.* *Karshapaṇa* ¹

In the Vedic and post-Vedic period the knowledge and use of a variety of coins are clear². The seer Kakshivan accepted 100 *nishkas* from a king Bhavanya, and a neckchain made of *nishkas* is also mentioned in the *Rigveda* (II 133, 10, III 4, 74). The *śatamāṇa* gold coin is referred to in the *Śatapatha Brahmana*. The grammarian Pāṇini (*Siddhanta Kaumudī*, 5, 2, 119) mentions a silver coin, *rapya*.

1. Gold weight	...	5 Rati	1 Masha	
		80 "	16 "	1 Suvarṇa
		320 "	64 "	4 "
				1 Pala or Nishka
Silver weight	...	2 Rati	1 Mashaka	
		32 "	16 "	1 Dharāṇa or Paraṇa
		320 "	160 "	10 "
				1 Śatamāṇa
Copper weight	...	80 Rati	1 Karshapaṇa	

The Rati is some seed of the most unvarying nature.

It is further subdivided and bears proportions with other smaller seeds as *yava* and *Sarshapa* and also with a nit (*likhya*) dust—particular (*reṇu*) and atom (*trasa-reṇu*)

2. Some kind of coin appears to have been in use in the pre-Vedic Mohenjodaro period of B. C. 3000. But the names of the coins etc. will remain obscure until the scripts and language of the written documents have been deciphered.

In the Buddhist canonical works and the Jataka stories Suvarṇa, Pūrṇa, Kārshapaṇa and Kakini are frequently mentioned. In the tripitaka, hiraṇya is used for uncast gold and suvarṇa for cast coin of gold. Bu'dhaghosha mentions a gold, silver, bronze, and copper Kaṣapaṇa (kārshapaṇa).

The Persian and Grecian invaders, the Andhra, Kshsatrapa and Kushan settlers, and the Gupta, Pallava, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Pala and Sena kings circulated gold, silver and copper coins of various denominations introduced by the foreigners. These were both the cast coins and punched coins. Numerous sculptures, paintings, inscriptions and literatures supply references to dināra and other coins of foreign origin. But the most ancient coinage of India developed independently of any foreign influence and followed the Indian system of weights as given in Manu.¹

From the view point of culture and advanced civilization the history of coinage in ancient India is remarkable. The sole purpose of coins being the advancement of trade and commerce, the extant gold coins of heavy weights from the time of Imperial or early Guptas indicate unmistakably the economic property of the country. The artistic shape of coins, the various symbols thereon indicating the national ideals and the skilful workmanship further corroborate the achievements of ancient Hindus in the field of arts, philosophy and manual dexterity.

SYMBOLS OF THOUGHTS.

Writing—Coins as currency must bear marks indicating their values. These marks are symbols of thoughts relating to numbers and letters of the alphabet. The invention of writing must have preceded the use of coins for facilitating trade and commerce.

The thoughts and feeling of pleasure, pain and other sentiments are expressed instinctively by articulate sounds or voice. But these sounds have no physical appearance and cannot, therefore, be recognized in

1. Prof. Rapson. Indian Coin, P. 3 Vide also Buhler: Indian Studies III, p. 49: Cunningham. Coins of India p. 59 plate III, 8-12: Yas Smith.

permanent and standard form. Thus various symbols and letters were invented by the civilized peoples of the world to record their thoughts and feelings, not by sounds as has been lately done by gramophone and radio, but by fingers and symbols known as the letters of an alphabet. A combination of letters gives rise towards representing a complete thought or idea. It is not known when and by whom this wonderful invention was first made. Like the invention of fire the origin of writing, however, played a unique part in the evolution of human civilization. Once the principle was known in any part of the world it could be applied and worked out in different manners as is clear from the innumerable alphabets now known to the world.

The Hindu tradition ascribes the invention of writing to the creator Brahmā, after whom the chief script is named as Brahmi. It is, therefore, claimed as a Hindu invention of the remotest antiquity. This view is held in the *Narada Smṛiti*, in the *Bṛihaspati's Vartika* on *Manu*, in the *Āṇhika-tattva* and in the *Jyotis-tattva*. The *Bhagavati Sūtra* begins with a homage to this script. This view is repeated in *Jaina Samavāyanga Sūtra* and *Pannavāna Sūtra*, and the Buddhist *Lalita-Vistara* wherein the original script is called *Bambhi*.

The two Jain *Sūtras* contain a list of eighteen separate alphabets and the *Lalita-Vistara* enumerates sixty-four scripts. Brahmi is the parent of all the still existing alphabets of India. It is further confirmed in the representation of Brahmā at *Bādāmi* where the deity holds in one of his hands a bundle of palm-leaves, for which in later representation an inscribed sheet of paper is substituted. The story is told in full in the Chinese Buddhistic *Fawānshulin*. The first available inscription however in the most advanced script in the *Piprawa Vase* is dated so late as B. C. 450. But the sign manuals of *Mohenjodaro* of which the scripts and language still remain undeciphered, are dated beyond B. C. 3250.

These written records of B. C. 3000 are available in large number at *Mohenjo-daro*. But the script and language of these documents have not yet been ascertained. It is not, however, unlikely that they may ultimately be proved to have been written in the earliest form of Brahmi the most developed and standardized form of which appears in the *Piprawa Vase* inscription

of B. C. 450. This surmise is indicated by the fact that in the subsequent Vedic period, from B. C. 2500 some script and writing must have been in use. For without some written record the colossal amount of Vedic texts bearing three kinds of accent marks could hardly be preserved so accurately without a single error of metre and accent when they were discovered in manuscript form after a thousand years.

In the post Vedic literature from B. C. 1000 undoubted and varied references to knowledge and use of writing have been found. For instance Vasishtha Dharma-Sūtra (XVI, 10, 14-15) mentions written documents as legal evidence. Panini's grammar refers to Yavanāni (writing of the Greeks) in contrast to Indian scripts. Lipikar and libikar (writer) akshara (letter), grautha (book), Kanda and pātala (chapter) occur throughout the Sanskrit literature. Likha, lekha and lekhana (writing and lekhaka writer) are found in Epics, Purāṇas, Kāvya, dramas, etc. The Bhikkhupāṭhitya and Bhikkhuni pāṭhitya of the Buddhists also repeatedly mention lekha (writing) and lekhaka (writer). The Jātakas frequently speak of the private and official letters, and they along with the Mahāvagga mention royal proclamation and narrate the engraving of moral, family and political maxims. Debtor's bond and manuscripts are also mentioned. The Vinaya piṭaka and Nikāyas refer to a game called akkharika (word making) its main feature being the reading of letters formed of stars in the sky. The Jātakas refer to the wooden writing board also. The Mahāvagga also refers to the curriculum of schools, viz lekha (writing) gaṇaṇa (arithmetic) and rūpa (calculation with coins of interest, wages and elementary mensuration). These are also mentioned in the Hathigumpha cave inscription of the King Kharvela of Kalinga (B. C. 165).

Although the exact time and process of the origin of writing in India or of the Brāhmī script is not known, yet in the presence of all these evidences the knowledge and use of writing in India from B. C. 3000 cannot be questioned. Thus the cultural value of the Hindu intellect and the civilized habit and custom of the Hindu society are well established in respect of such an important matter as the device of writing. The colossal amount and variety of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit

literature bear further evidence to the extensive use of writing in ancient India

From the inexhaustible store of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature only brief quotations are possible here dealing with the social economic conditions of ancient India within 1000 B. C. They will however show how people lived and carried on their work. What they produced and how, and the way their trade functioned. The conditions indicated by Kautilya's Arthashastra and the Epic have been already referred to. The Jatakas or folk lores of Buddha's time represent the popular tradition as contrasted with the aristocratic or Brahmanical and Ruling class tradition. On the basis of Mr. Richard Fick's 'the social organisation in North East India in Buddha's time', and Ratilal Mehta's 'Pre-Buddhist India', Jawaharlal Nebru has drawn a fair picture from a socialist's point of view in his 'Discovery of India'. 'It was predominantly an agricultural civilization and the basic unit was the self-governing village. The political and economic structure was built up from these village communities which were grouped in tens and hundreds. Village assemblies enjoyed a measure of autonomy. Horticulture, rearing of live stock and doing farming were practised in an extensive scale. Gardens and parks were common, and fruit and flowers were valued. There were evidently many shops of vegetable and fruit-sellers, as well as of florists in the cities. The flower-garland was then, as now, a favourite of the Indian people.

Hunting was a regular occupation chiefly for the food it provided. Flesh eating was common and included poultry and fish; venison was highly esteemed. There were fisheries and slaughter houses. The principal articles of diet were, however, rice, wheat, millet, and Corn. Sugar was extracted from sugar-cane. Milk and its various products were then, as they are now, highly prized. There were liquor shops apparently made from rice fruit, and sugarcane.

"There was mining for metals and precious stones. Mention is made of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin, brass, and diamonds, rubies, corals, and pearls. The manufactured goods included silks, woolens, and cotton textiles, rugs, blankets and carpets. Spinning, weaving and dyeing were flourishing and widespread

industries. The metallurgical industry produced weapons of war. The building industry used stone, wood, and bricks. Carpenters made a variety of furniture etc. including carts, chariots, ships, bedstead, chairs, benches, chests, toys, etc. Cane workers made mattresses, baskets, fans, and sunshades. Potters functioned in every village. From flowers and sandalwood and number of perfumes, oils and beauty products were made, including sandal wood powder. Various medicines and drugs were manufactured. The medical text books of Charaka on medicine Susruta on surgery enumerate a large number of diseases and give methods of diagnosis and treatment. They deal with surgery, obstetrics, baths, diet, hygiene, feeding and medical education. There was an experimental approach and dissection of dead bodies was practised in the course of surgical training. Various surgical instruments mentioned by Susruta include amputation of limbs, abdominal caesarian section, cataract etc. Dentistry was regularly practised and various instruments for extraction etc. of teeth are mentioned. Wounds were sterilized by fumigations. There were hospitals both for men, women, children, and beasts.

'There was partnership for trade and loans were advanced on interest. Trade associations and craft guilds had already assumed importance'. Fick is quoted in support of this: 'The existence of trade associations which grew partly for economic reasons, better employment of capital, facilities of intercourse partly for protecting the legal interest of their class, is surely to be traced to an early period of Indian culture. The *gatakas* refer to 18 craft unions including the wood-worker, the masons, the smiths, the painters, and the leather workers. Great roads and shipping facilities helped the expansion of export and import trade.

'Trade flourished not only in the country itself but between India and foreign countries. There was a colony of Indian merchants living at Memphis in Egypt about the fifth century B.C. Overseas trade involved shipping and it is clear that ships were built in India both for the inland waterways and ocean traffic. There are references in the epics to shipping duties being paid by merchants coming from afar'. Exports from India included 'silks' muslins, the finer sorts of cloth, cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory-work, jewellery and gold'.

There were regular trade laws and standard of weights and measures. According to Nārada Smṛiti 'loss, expenses profit of each partner are equal to, more than, or less than those of other partners according to his share invested is equal, greater, or less. Storage, food charges (tolls) loss, freightage, expense of keeping must be paid by each partner in accordance with terms of agreement.

'Ten formed the basis of enumeration in India even at the time of Rīgveda. The time and number sense of the ancient Indians was extraordinary. They had a long series of number names for very high numerals. The Greeks, Romans, Persians, and Arabs had apparently no terminology for denominations above the thousand or at most the myriad (10^4 10,000). In India there were 18 specific denominations (10^{18}) and there are even longer lists. At the other end of the scale there was minute division of time of which the smallest unit was approximately one-seventeenth to a second, and the smallest lineal measure is given as something which approximates to 1.3×7-10 inches."

All these big and small figures, although considered "entirely theoretical and for philosophical purposes" by Pt. Nehru, there is no reason to doubt that they indicate largeness of trade, commerce and economic prosperity as well as the minute accuracy especially concerning precious objects.

Pt. Nehru, appreciates how the economic prosperity when quoting from V. Anstey he says 'that right up to the eighteenth century Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial organisation could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world. He admits that 'India was a highly developed manufacturing country exporting her manufactured product to Europe and other countries. Her banking system was efficient and well organized throughout the country. Merchant capital had evolved and there was as elaborate network of agents, jobbers, brokers and middlemen. The ship-building industry was flourishing and one of the flagships of an English admiral during the Napoleonic wars had been built by an Indian firm in India. Clive described Murshidabad as a city 'as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London'. Dacca in East Bengal was famous for its fine

muslins. 'All over the vast land there were greater cities and large number of big manufacturing and trading countries, and a very rapid and ingenious system of communicating news and market prices had been evolved. The economy of India had thus advanced to as high a stage as it could reach prior to the Industrial Revolution. Though the Indian merchant and manufacturing classes were rich and spread out all over the country, and even controlled the economic structure, they had no political power. As it happened, foreign political domination came first and this led to a rapid destruction of the economy she (India) had built up, without anything positive or constructive taking its place.'

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LIFE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

Bhārata-Varsha is one of the nine states of the remotest past into which the then known world appears to have been divided¹. This Bhāratvarsha deriving its designation from the King Bharata, a predecessor of the Kauravas of the epic Mahābhārata fame is known as India from the time of the Persian or Grecian Settlement as the foreigners recognized the country by the famous river Indus. The natural boundaries of Bhārat-varsha or India have, however, remained unaltered for milleniums because the unchangeable Himalayas in the north and ocean on three other sides have so far frustrated all human attempt at vivisection of a complete organic whole. This area covers some 2500 miles from the Himalayas in the north to the cape Comorin in the extreme south of the peninsula, and some 3000 miles from the borders of Tibet, China and Burma in the east to the borders of Arabia, Persia, and Afghanistan in the west. The population within this huge area which the country itself can feed and clothe has not yet reached its full growth although the census of 1940 has show the figure of 40 crores or 400 millions, being the second largest world, China claiming 450 millions. To the modern mind even this 400 millions appear as too large a population for a single government to manage, although in ancient India, even of the Mahābhārata time (circa 500 B. C) a single state under the Kaurava and Pandava sovereignty constituted a uniform culture throughout the country. Despite the varieties of tribes, communities, castes, languages and climates there was a wonderful social and political unity. The Kuru and Pandu princes had matrimonial connection with Gandhara or Peshawar in the North-West with Assam in the north-east, and with the

1. Sr Monier Williams in his dictionary defines 'Varsha' as "a division of the earth as separated off by certain mountain ranges. Nine such divisions are enumerated, viz. Kuru, Hiranmaya, Ramyaka Ilavrita, Hari, Ketumala, Bhadrāsva, Kinnara and bhārata."

hill tribes of Himalayas in the north with the Kaushala, Berar, and Ceylon in the south. Despite the vastness of the country, unlikeness of different parts, heterogenous population and numerous non-aryan masses there was a fundamental unity as shewn by the common sacraments, laws of marriage, and similarity in food, clothes and dwellings. Thus a political unity was well based upon family and social life.

The temporary occupation of certain parts of country by the Persian in the 5th Century B. C. the Grecian and the Parthians from 4th century B. C. to 1st. or 2nd century A. D. and the Scythians including Kushans from the 2nd to 4th century A. D., could not materially interfere with the sovereignty and supremacy in all internal matters, even the occupation of the country by the Pathans and Mughals for some 600 years could not affect the country's freedom from external control. It is since the British occupation for 150 years that the country was suffering from the external control. Thus from the point of view of a large population, territorial integrity, and sovereignty and supremacy in all internal matters and freedom from external control Indian empire of the past can claim the status of a regular state. Besides, despite the occasional but national feuds among various clans or parties in such a big state, there were well organised government or governments always established by laws based on national scriptures¹.

It is due to impatience to comprehend the monumental records which has led the combined intelligence of three learned authors of Ancient India to think that 'Indian politics consist, not in a doctrine of the state but in an act of government; the Keystone of which is formed by the education of the prince . . . A treatise on government has a scholastic apriori air . . . Pedantic enumerations and distinctions are forced on the fact rather than extracted from the analysis of them several writers have discussed more elaborately the

1. From the time of Aristotle a regular state stipulated the existence of a definite territory, a minimum population of 10,000, an organised government to rules according to accepted laws, and sovereignty and supremacy in all internal matters and freedom from external control.

doctrine of the State in India". The education of the prince' in accordance with the enumerations and distinctions' recorded in Sanskrit treatises on Government, will itself show to an unbiased intelligence the existence of the 'doctrine' which is defined in dictionaries as 'an act of teaching, a principle or the body of principles in any branch of knowledge'. The motto of the present writer is 'to be quite certain of our data to present the monumental records as they now exist, and to interpret them faithfully and literally' from their analysis of them. Our main purpose here is however to deal with the art of government' rather than indulge in fruitless discussion of doctrine. Among numerous treatises dealing with the political science and the practical art of government the Kautilya Arthashastra is the standard work. This earliest preserved text has deprived by reason of its completeness earlier treatises of the possibility of survival and has shadowed the later less complete works. It opens with an enumeration of several royal duties and deals with the bringing up and education of a prince, including knowledge, training in the art of government, conduct of family members, ministers and officials. It discusses the laws and control of the administration in all branches.

As a political science it is comparable to the much later works of Machiavelli on political philosophy. But it does not discuss in detail the fundamental issues such as the relation of right and might, of fate and human endeavour, and the origin of Kingship. These subjects are more expressly discussed in the Mahabharata and the Buddhist texts. It holds Artha the most important of the three aims of life, viz. Kāma, Artha and Dharma (Moksha). It asserts that government (artha) is essential to them all. Without it there would be the reign of anarchy everywhere. Under the sceptre the four caste and their ordered ways of life prosper and Kāma, artha and dharma are fulfilled. While with Machiavelli and Mussolini the state is all in all in a vague manner,

1. See for Instance, Beni Prasad : The State in ancient India and Theory of Government in ancient India; K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity; K. Aiyangar : Ancient India; R. K. Mukerjee : Local Government in Ancient India; Kautilya Arthashastra (Transl. Shyama-sastry); Mahabharata Śānti parva, Rajadharma (trans P. C. Roy) Manu Samhita (transl. Bühler).

Kautilya means by the state an order of society' which the state does not create "which it exists to secure". The end of the government, it holds, is the maintenance of a firm rule. In addition to maintaining peace in the realm the king must always be prepared for foreign war. It admits the risks run by a King from Court intrigues, military oligarchical functions, false ministers and unruly heads of guilds. It recognizes the King as no more than a servant of the state. It summarises the relation of the King with the subjects: "In the happiness of his people lies the happiness of the King in their well being his well being, his own pleasure is not the King's well-being but the pleasure of his people is his well being."

For the purpose of ascertaining the condition of culture and civilization in respect of the political life of the ancient Hindus no more doctrinaireing like that of the school in France in 1815-30 is necessary. Government being the machinery through which the will of the state is expressed, the art and forms of government depend upon the sources from which the power to rule over others is derived. Both the divine and temporal origin of royal power was understood and practised in ancient India. The King is considered as the direct representative of God. Indirectly a prince is born to be the ruler as he succeeds to his ancestral throne. In both these categories the power to rule over others is a gift from God rather than an acquirement through the strength of superior brain or arms. The King of Nepal is still considered as the direct representative of God and behaves like an inactive agent of God, the prime minister being the actual ruler of the state. The position of the Tibetan Lama and of the constitutional Kings of Great Britain and a few other modern Kingdoms is almost the same. The Italian Pope and the defunct Turkish Khalifa were once considered the spiritual and temporal head of their respective nations and dominions. The conception of the active God being a matter of personal faith and belief the theory of the divine origin of Kings does not seem to appeal to the modern intelligence. In fact the defective organisation and the inherent selfishness associated with all hereditary and permanent or immovable seat of power have removed from the face of the present world almost all such Kings, or at least they have been deprived of such divine power to rule over others.

In contrast to this unknown source of power submission to which is always a matter of choice, the power acquired by strength of arms enables conqueror to enforce his superiority to rule over others even without their consent. On the other hand in order to get rid of the fratricidal state of anarchy and war of the primitive age people selected or elected a powerful individual as their ruler, and surrendered into his hands their liberty irrecoverable or on condition of his protecting their life, and property where it existed. In this temporal origin of power a person gifted with strength of brain and arms is selected or elected as a ruler by a group of people owing to his superior capacity of leadership. This method has given rise to theories of force, instinct, contract and evolution concerning the power to rule over others. The various forms of government have accordingly developed.

Throughout Sanskrit literature, notably in the Vedas, Epics and Puranas, also the Buddhist and Jain texts we find copious instances to illustrate all theories on temporal power and all known forms of government. So far as the Vedic India is concerned the power of the Aryans to rule over India which had been being inhabited by the aboriginal tribes was derived from conquest and may be called temporal at the outset. But when the Aryans settled down in India some political order had to be set up for the sake of good government. Thus arose the need for a division of labour and also power. Before the growth of the caste system the head of a family of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras alike performed all the family duties of defence or protection of the family members, of the spiritual rites of the earning as means of livelihood. Thus at the outset there could have been no conflict for the power to rule between the classes of warriors, priests and workers. But when the Brahmanas were set apart for priestly duties, the Kshatriyas for defence and further conquest, and the Vaisyas for the production and manufacture of necessary things, the power of these classes had to be defined. There was in India, however no major conflict as in other countries, for the power to rule. The priestly class no doubt monopolised owing to their superior brain large power of government, although the warrior class continued to be the formal ruler. The kingship or rulership was virtually the monopoly of the Kshatriyas, although there are a few instances of a king being of the Vaisya, Sudra, and even Brahmana

gronps. Brahmanas, were mostly the king's counsellors, Judges and the spiritual guides of the society, and thus controlled the political and the social order of the whole country and nation. This monopoly of the Brahmanas was not the result of any conflict but was due mainly to the superior brain power, noble sacrifices for the good of the whole nation, and freedom from selfish motives. The story of the Brahmana Dadhichi offering his own bones for making a weapon to kill the demonish enemy would serve as a good instance of the priestly sacrifice.

The man who governs and presides over the social order is the Rājā, a term derived from the same sort as the Latin rex and Gaulish rix. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the declaration that "nothing is above the power of the King". The sovereign who is chosen by nobles or people (rājakṛit) as protector of the people (gopā janasya) is the land of the people (Viśpati). The sovereignty being established by force of arms is clearly indicated by the title of kings as striker of cities (pura-bheta) and by the wellknown ceremonies of the Rājasuya and Aśvamedha festivities which were performed in celebration of conquests by military expedition. The wandering of the horse to be sacrificed in these festivities all over the territory, unopposed, confirms the complete sovereignty of the victorious king. The Rig. Veda (X 124, 8) refers to the misfortune of a people not choosing a king to lead them against an enemy. The symbolization of the sun's rays by the horse of the Aśvamedha is of the same order as the execution of the three steps of Vishnu in the Rājasuya. The Kingship, which is a reserve of the Kshatriyas known as the ruler (rājanya) is thus ascribed to the solar and the lunar origin.

Long lists of the king of the solar and the lunar dynasties are included in the epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. The Purāṇas have elaborated these and other lists of the historical period of Hindu India. The Buddhist and the Jain texts include further particulars of dynasties of Kings and heads of republican states. The vedic texts supply instances of both the absolute and limited monarchical forms of government where the king is a single individual claiming divine origin, commanding absolute power over the population, acquiring the territory either unopposed by anybody or by conquest after opposition, and securing submission of the people through instinct in the former case and

by contract in the latter. The monarchy of both the varieties is hereditary. It is similar to the patriarchal or matriarchal succession in families and tribal organisation. The absolute monarchy being acquired is illustrated by the passages like the following 'unto thee hath come the kingdom. Step forward with majesty as lord of the people, sole ruler. Let Indra call thee for these subjects, Varuna for waters, and Soma for mountains, may the king become master of the princes, that is the overlord¹,

The limited monarchy where the king is accepted or chosen is illustrated by numerous passages from the Vedic texts: The subjects have chosen you their king' *ta ima viśo na rājanam vrināna*, *Rigveda* 1, 24, 8). The subjects have chosen you to rule over them (*tvam Viśo vrinatam rajyaya*, *Atharvaveda* 3, 4, 2). All the subjects accept you to rule over them (*viśas tva sarva Vanchhantu*) *Rv.* X. 175, 1). Thee let the people choose unto Kingship (*Av.* III, D, 4; *Kans.* 16, 30).

The *Rigveda* mentions tribal organisation of the Anus, Druhyus. Turvasas, Krivis, Kurus, Purus, and Bharatas, who had their selected chief or King. The Pañchala king Pravahana Jaivali is mentioned in the Chhandogya Upanishad (V. 2, 1-7) as attending the council (Parishad). The Śatapatha Brahmana (XIII, 5, 4, 2) and Aitareya-Brahmana (VIII, 23, 3) similarly make mention of the kings Parikshita and Janmejaya. There are instances of the Republican or Democratic form of government also. In this form the supreme power is vested in the people collectively, and is administered either by the officers or officers appointed in them or by their own representation. In the former case the head of the state may be a single person or a body or people nominated or selected, conditionally or unconditionally, by the people. In this direct form of democracy the head possesses the monarchical power and may hold hereditary office in accordance with the conditions. In the indirect democracy, better known as the Representative Parliamentary or Republican form of government the power of ruling is exercised by the chosen representatives of the people. In this case also the head is chosen who may be either a limited monarch with the power of hereditary succession, or a president of the people's

1. Compare *Atharva Veda* IV. 22; 111, 3, 4;

representative council, appointed only for a fixed period without power of hereditary succession.

This was evolutionary in nature. It was not given to men readymade by God nor was it a human contrivance. In its origin it was more or less spontaneous, natural, twin born with man and with the family. Although this form of government did not originate in a deliberate contract, a deliberate choice has always played a part in its development.

The Republic was known as *Gaṇa*, the technical meaning of which coincides with the current meaning of the term used to imply a crowd or assembly. Public affairs were discussed in an assembly, the president (*raja*) of which was elected by the people. The Śākya of Kapilavastu were a million inhabitants living in independence under the overlordship of Kōśala. Similar States were those of Mallas and Vaijīs. The Lichhavis of Vaiśālī had 707 senators (*rajas*), 3 archons, and 9 ministers (*gana-raja*). The second group of western states consisted of Mālavas, Kshudrakas, Sambastai having 3 archons, Nysaeans governed by a senate of 300 members. Pattalas had two kings (presidents) and a council of senators. The third group of states may be gathered from the Mahābhārata. Yaurheyas, Kunindas, Mālavas, Śibis, and Arjunāyanas were situated in central India. It is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata that the Yādavas were federation of small clans, each with its hereditary chief, and the common affairs were managed by a body of elected senators. Here each state is monarchical and the federation is republican. The republican states which were in existence in the time of the Gautama Buddha (B. C. 500) and mentioned in the Buddhist texts have been described by Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India included the Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Bhaggas of Sumsumara Hill, the Rulers of Allakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, the Koliyas of Ramagāma, the Mallas of Kāsinara, the Mallas of Pava, the Moriya of Pipphalivāṇa, the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchhavis of Vesali jointly known as the Vajjianas, and also the Mallas of Kosi and mentioned in the Jain Kalpataru (p. 65) by Jacobi. The machinery of Government devised by these democratic republican states included a state council of Elders (*sabha*), a popular assembly (*sangha*), and guilds (*puga*) of villagers. The village organisation was the basis of whole adminis-

tration. The head of the village (*grāmaṇi*) was responsible for the payment of taxes and control of the village work. Five to ten villages were combined under an administrator known as *Gopa* (lit. protector). This combination formed a district. Four such districts or quarters made a province of which the governor was as the *Sthānika* (local head). Above him was the Commissioner known as the *Nāgarika* (lit. head of the capital city). Over all these officials the Maurya Kings placed a minister of the interior known as the *Sama-hartri*.

According to Kautilya *Arthaśāstra* (LXXIV, p. 87) dealing with the Mauryan administration the city was placed under a municipal government divided into six sections.¹ Each section was formed into board of five members. One board was in charge of the care of artisans including supervision of work done and wages received. The second board was in control of foreigners regarding their lodging, health, disposal of their goods freely, and observation of their conduct. The third board recorded the birth and death etc. of the population probably for health and fiscal income. The fourth board was in control of retail trade and exchanges, checking weights and measures, stamping goods to guarantee genuineness, and collecting duties on sale. The fifth board was in charge of supervision and stamping of manufactured articles. And the sixth was the finance board collecting the tenth.

MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

The government was conducted by the King with the help of both advisory bodies and executive officers according to written laws. For the democratic republican states there were a state council of elders (*sabhā*), a popular assembly of people (*saṁiti*) a federation of republics (*Saṅgha*), a guild (*gṛha*) of traders, merchants, and the village assembly (*grāma-sabhā*) formed of the families (*kula*). The *sabhā* and *Samiti* were the highest legislative bodies which represented the will of the people and expressed itself on important

1. Megasthenes the Grecan Ambassador at the court of the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya confirms this.

matters including the election of the king himself and the general welfare of the people.

The *sabhā* was the highest council of state held by a king of kings of which the subordinate kings were the members as stated in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* (III, 3, 5, 14). It was a smaller and selected body of elders, heads of clans or families and functioned by a committee. It had the double function. As a parliament it disposed of public business by debate and discussion. It also served as a law-court on important cases of appeal from the lower and ordinary courts of justice. That the decision was taken by a vote of the majority is implied by the designation *Narishṭha* given to the term *sabhā* in the *Atharvaveda* (vii 12-3) which the great commentator *Sāyana* explains as 'inviolable not to be overridden because in the *sabhā* the many meet and speak with one voice which is binding on others.' In the *Rigveda* (VI, 28, 6; viii, 4, 9 x. 34, 60) *Sabhā* is mentioned as an assembly and hall or meeting place for social intercourse and discussion of public matters other uses therein imply *sabhā* as a 'council of elders and nobles'. *Sabhāchāra* in the *Vājasaneyi samhita* (XXX, 6) and *sabhāsad* in the *Atharvaveda* (iii, 19, 1; vii, 12, 2; xix, 55, 6) mean 'one who attends the *sabhā* sitting as law-court dispensing justice. *Sabhāstara* means a judge in the *Mahābhārata* (iv. 1. 24) which says (v, 35, 38) that 'that is no *sabhā* where there are no elders, and those are not elders who do not declare the law.' *Samiti* was the larger general assembly of the people. In the *Atharvaveda* (vi. 88; V. 10) it is used as expressing the voice of the people (viz) in the choice of their king. It is further stated (vi 82, 3) that 'the support of the *samiti* was essential to the king to subdue his enemies and make his position firm on the throne.' In the *Rigveda* it is stated that 'the King attended the *samiti* (ix 92, 6; x. 97, 6) and met it 'with power invincible and capturing their minds and their resolutions (X 166, 4). It is further emphasised that 'concord between the king and the *samiti* was essential for the prosperity of the realm (X. 101, 3) In the *Atharva Veda* (vii, 12, 1) the *sabhā* and *samiti* are described as 'the twin daughters of the *Prajāpati* (creator of people).

Pāṇini refers to *samghas* on republics *Kshudraka* and *Mālava* (iv 2, 25) and *Yaudheya* (v. 3, 117), and also

to the confederation of republics like the Trigarta Samgha of six republics (v. 3, 116), and the Andhra Vrishni samgha (v. 3, 114) of which the federal executive was formed of the rajanya (kshatriya) leader of each constituent republic with his own party (varga) such as Sini and Vāsudeva, Svaphalka and Chaikraka and Akrura and Vāsudeva with their rival Vargas. Sangha as a confederation of republic had two varieties, Gana and Nikaya. The former was the political assembly or republic comprising all castes, but the kshatriyas alone being on the governing body or cabinet. It ran on party (varga) system as the Vāsudeva Varga, Arjuna Varga etc. named after the leader. But the business was carried on on a majority vote (chhandaso nirmite). The Nikaya was a non-political association in which there was no distinction due to birth. There also business was carried generally on majority votes.

The puga was a guild of the village community under the village head (gramani) as stated in the Panini (v. 2, 52 ; v. 3, 112). Kumara pugas were the juvenile associations. The Grama-Sabha or the village assembly appears to have been the ultimate source of all powers, as it was formed of all families (kulas) and elected representative to all higher councils of the king or the state. But in the town there was a differentiation between the law courts and assemblies. The head of the village was responsible for the control of the village and collecting and paying the taxes. Five to ten villages were combined under an administrator known as Gopa (protector) and this combination formed a district. Four such districts formed a province of which the Governor was the sthanika (local head). Above him was the commissioner known as the Nagarika (a city magistrate). Over all these officials the Maurya Kings placed a minister of the interior known as samahartri (co-ordinator) as stated in the Kautilya Arthasāstra.

According to the same authority (LXXIV. P. 87) and supported by an eye witness, Megasthenes who was the Grecian ambassador in the court of the emperor Chandragupta Maurya the city was placed under a municipal government which divided itself into six sections each of which formed into a board of five members, one board was incharge of the care of

artisans including the supervision of their work and wages. The second board was in control of foreigners regarding their lodgings, health, disposal of goods and observation of their conduct. The third board recorded the birth and death etc. of the population apparently for the improvement of health and probably for fiscal income. The fourth board was in control of the retail trade and exchanges, checking weights and measures, stamping goods to guarantee genuineness, and collecting duties on sale. The fifth board was in charge of supervision of the industrial manufactures. And the sixth was the finance board collecting the revenues.

MACHINERY FOR GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The ministry (*mantri-parishad*) was the chief executive. In the time of the *Mahābhārta* (II, 85, 6-11) a cabinet of 9 was formed out of a ministry of 37, comprising 4 Brahmins including the prime minister, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaisyas and 3 Śūdras. According to *Kāmandaki* (XI, 67) the number of ministers which the king must appoint was twelve. But according to *Manu* (VII, 54) the number should be seven or eight only. And the king should consult his ministers (*Manu*, VII, 56) of peace and war, of home affairs (*sthāna*) of revenue, of defence, and of gains by pious gifts, at first separately and then jointly before the final decision is taken. The prime minister should have the full confidence of the king in deliberating important state affairs and in regard to the royal policy (VII 57) relating to six measures (VII, 160) viz, alliance, war marching, halting, dividing the army, and seeking protection. According to the *Mahābhārta* (II, 5, 43) the king attended daily the council hall (*mantra-griha*) for consultation with his ministers individually or collectively. The president of the assembly (*sabhadhyaksha*) according to the same authority (II, 5, 38) was one of the eighteen chief officers of the state.

In the *Kautilya Arthashastra* (Book I chap. XV, 29) *Manu* is stated to have recommended a ministry of 12 members, school of *Brihaspati* suggests 16 ministers, the school of *Uśanas* 20 ministers but *Kautilya* holds that the ministry "shall consist of as many members as the needs of the dominion require".

According to Kautilya (Arthasastra VI) the seven bases of government or elements of sovereignty included the king, ministers territory, fort, treasure, army, and alliance. According to Manu (IX, 294) the seven constituent posts of the Kingdom consisted of the King, his ministers, capital, realm, treasury, army, and allies in order of importance. According to Kautilya (Book VII chap. i, 261) the sixfold state-policy are stated to be neutrality (*āsanna*), machinery (*yāna*), peace (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), alliance (*samsrya*) making peace with one and waging war with the other. The obstacles (lit. thorns) to good government) were truly recognised to be the miracle mongers, coiners, highway men, healers, musicians, and dancers all of whom were despised as thieves in disguise.

The privy council or the royal office in the Epic age of which the king was the chief comprised the allies, subordinate Kings, military leaders and priests. These aristocratic nobles took part in council, conducted the assemblies, and led the army. They were divided into eight classes as Mantri or cabinet councillors, Amatya or general officers eight of whom might form the King's cabinet as stated in the Mahābhārata (i, 140, 2) Sachiva or officers of high rank who were in charge of King's military duties (Mbh. i, 49, 23) Parishad or assembly members who also guarded the realm, Sahāyas or allies (vii 83, 22 ; 57, 23), Arthakarin or executive officers in charge of state business, five being in the cabinet (xii, 63, 22 ; 57, 23), Dhārmika or judges (Mabh. xii, 121, 46 ; Ramayana vi, 3, 13), and the Tirthas or departmental heads (Mbh. 11, 5, 38 Ram. II, 160 45).

These departmental heads were twenty one in number as stated in the Mahābhārata (II, 5, 38) and the Ramayana (ii, 109, 45). They included the Mantrin or chief councillor, Purohita or chief priest, Yuvaraja or crown prince, chamupati or Commander-in-chief of the army, Dvārapala or chamberlain, Antārveśka or comptroller of house hold, Karagāradhikāra or superintendent of prison, Dravya-sanchaya-krit or steward, Artha-viniyojaka or chief executive officer, pradeshīa or chief judge Nagradhyakshaka or city magistrate, Kārya-nirmānakrit or chief engineer, Dharmadhyakshaka or chief justice, Śabdādhyakshaka or speaker of the council or assembly, Daṇḍapala or chief criminal judge,

Durgapāla or keeper of forts, Rāshtrantapāla or frontier guard, Atavipāla or conservator of forests, Vainayika or registrar or officer in charge of rules and discipline, Vyavaharika or legal adviser, Aupayika or finance member (Mb. V, 4,34) This will indicate a well organised administration in the age of the epics (B. C. 1000 to A. D 500). The superintendents under the departmental heads as given by Kautilya (Arthashastra Book II, Chap. 1—xxxiii) will further show the care taken in the civil administration in order to develop the economic life of the nation. Thus there were superintendents of accounts; treasury; mines metals, coins and mints; ocean mines and of salt; gold; store house; commerce; forest produce; armoury; weights and measure; tolls; weaving; agriculture; liquor; slaughter house; prostitutes; ships; cows; horse; elephant; chariots; infantry; pass ports, pasture lands; and the city superintendents of a hundred or of a thousand communities regulated the subsistence wages and profits.

In all administrative matters the king is advised by Kautilya (Book I chap xv 27) to have the benefit of consultation with all his officers. 'The King shall despise none but have the opinions of all because a wiseman makes use of even a child's sensible utterance. Viśalakṣha is quoted by Manu, who emphasises that 'no deliberation made by a single person will be successful. The nature of the work which a sovereign has to do is to be inferred from the consideration of both the visible and invisible causes. Many things are possible of a correct decision by the officers concerned with them, such as ministers, departmental heads, and superintendents of offices. He shall, therefore, set at deliberation with persons of wide intellect (and of large experience) possessing direct knowledge.

The Political life of a nation is judged not only by the organisation of the forms and machinery of the government but mainly by the administration of the royal revenues, civil, military and ecclesiastical matters.

The principle of taxation is laid down by Manu (vii, 137-139): 'The King should not cut up his own root by levying no taxes, nor the root of the subjects by excessive greed or exploitation'. It is further elucidated (vii, 80) that the revenue official must obey the sacred law in his transactions with the people and behave like a father. The taxes were laid on the basis

of a part of produce from the agricultural or forest lands, manual labour, and in money. The revenue was derived from two main sources, *viz.*, the rent for leasing out or selling crown lands, and the taxes for various kinds imposed on the members of the state with or without their previous consent. The head of the village or a state official sets aside a part of the different kinds of agricultural produce for the king, the proportion varying between a twelfth and a sixth. A trifle tax was annually taken from those who lived on traffic and annual labour of one day in each month was taken from the mechanics, artisans, and *sādra* or labourers (Manu vii, 139) in order to perform gratuitous labour in the construction of public roads, tanks, temples etc.

Kautilya (Arthashastra) classifies the *aya-mukha* or sources of all revenues into *bhiga* or royal share or title, *Flīpta* or fixed taxes, *mula* or capital outlay, *vyāji* or *premia*, *parigha* or gate-money or custom, *rapika* or coinage fee or excise duty, and *atyaya* fines. Custom duties or tolls were levied on internal and external merchandise, that is, on goods manufactured in the country (*abhyantara*) and in foreign lands (*bahya*) on their export (*nishkrāmya*) and import (*praveśya*) as stated by Kautilya.

For land revenue the kingdom was divided into four groups *viz.* *pariharaka* or village exempted from taxation, *ayudhiya* or villages that supplied soldiers, village that supplied free labour for public roads or buildings (*vishṭi*) and dairy produce (*Kara-pratikara*), and villages that gave taxes in grains, cattle, and gold (*hiranya*) and raw materials (*Kupya*). Royal revenues were also collected from interior (*durga*). Country parts (*rashṭra*) other than the above villages mines (*Khani*) buildings and gardens (*setu*), forests (*vana*), herds of cattle (*vraja*) and roads of traffic or road cess from traders (*vanik-patha*).

Durga or interior taxes included tolls, fires (registration of) weights and measures, through town clerks and superintendents of coinage, seals, and pass-ports, liquor, slaughter of animals, (manufacture of) threads, oils, ghee, sugar, through state-goldsmith, ware house of merchandise, from prostitutes, gambling, (leasing) building sites, from the corporation of artisans, handicraftsmen, Superintendents of gods or temples and gate tax includ-

ing entertainment tax and entrance fee for foreigners (bahiraka).

Rashtra meaning realm or parts of the kingdom outside the interior (durga) supplied taxes on the produce from crown lands, tithe, tributes on share of offerings (bali) made to the temples, from merchants, superintendents of fishery, ferries, boats, ships, towns (markets), pasture-grounds, road-cess, and ropes to bind thief with probably implying manufacture of non-military weapons.

Khani or mines were a special source of taxation wherefrom were brought out through processes of minerology by private enterprise gold, silver, diamond, gems, pearls, corals, conchshells, iron, salt and other minerals.

Setu or special grounds separated from ordinary corn-fields, another special source of taxation, included flower-gardens (as in Holland of present day), fruit-gardens, vegetable gardens, and wet-fields, etc. These were also developed on a large business scale by farmers through private enterprise. Vana or forests were also developed as implied by their division for the purpose of taxation into timber-forests, game forests, and elephant forests. Minerals are not included in this category as they were tapped in places other than deep forests which yielded more notably timber, game comprising birds and animals, and wild animals like elephants who helped the development of economic life in the past.

Vraja or cattle-breeding was another source of taxation which was also developed by private enterprise which had to pay the royal share of income. Like farmers of various things, there were breeders of domesticated animals including cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules, which supplied both milk and flesh, and also draught animals for transport contributing largely to the economic development of the country.

Vanik-patha or traffic routes included both land roads and water-ways. The traffic of goods by the land and water must have been in a large scale in Kautilya's time, for otherwise, it could not form a special item of royal taxation. And in order to make it possible the traffic business must have been carried through both private and state enterprise.

For the purpose of equitable taxation it is elaborated by Kautilya (Book II, chap. xxxv, 142), that the boundaries of villages were set up, and the numbering was done of plots of grounds as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, fences or roads (*vāta*), forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding or alms houses (*satha*), watering places, (*prapā*), places of pilgrimage, and pasture grounds. This was necessary for remission of taxes for charitable and public institution. The houses were also numbered as tax paying or non-tax paying. The total number of the inhabitants of all the four castes in a village were registered and an account was kept of the exact number of cultivators, cow-herds, merchants, artisans, labourers, and slaves and quadruped animals. An account was also kept of the number of young and old men that resided in each house, their history of conduct and character (*charitra*), occupation (*ajiva*), income (*āya*) and expenditure (*vyaya*). Importance of such a census can hardly be exaggerated. It not only helped a judicious allocation of taxes but also supplied necessary particulars to study and improve the condition of the people.

Concerning the foreign merchandise arriving by land or water route an account was kept concerning the amount of toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, military cess, ferry fare, charges incurred by them for their own subsistence and for the accommodation of their merchandise in ware houses (*payyagara*). The rate of taxes under various heads are well illustrated by Kautilya (Book V, chap. ii, 241). Demand was made up to one fourth of cultivators' grain and one-sixth of forest produce and of such commodities as cotton, ware, fabrics, barks of trees, humps, wool, silk, medicines, sandals, flower, fruits, vegetables, firewood; bamboos, flesh and dried fish; one half of all ivory and skins of animals. These are the taxes levied in a share of the produce. Taxes were also taken in money. Thus the merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, coral, horses and elephants had to pay fifty karas being equivalent to 10 pagas. Those who traded in cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze (sandal, medicines) and liquor paid forty karas.

Those who traded in grains, liquids, metals, (*loha*) and dealt with carts had to pay thirty karas. Those who

carried on their trade in glass (*kacha*) and also artisans of fine workmanship paid twenty *karas*. Traders on articles of inferior workmanship and those who kept prostitutes had to pay ten *karas*. Those who traded in firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen pots, cooked rice and vegetables (*i.e.* the hotel-keeper) paid five *karas*. Dramatists and prostitutes had to pay as much as half of their wages. Fraudulent traders like the goldsmiths had to pay their entire income. Traders rearing cocks and pigs had to pay as taxes half of the stock of their animals. Those who reared inferior animals had to pay one-sixth. Those who kept the domesticated animals of public use like cows, buffaloes, mules, asses, and camels paid only one-tenth of their live-stock as royal taxes. Those who of their own accord with intention of doing good for the public offered their wealth as voluntary subscription to the king were honoured with a rank in the king's court, an umbrella, a turban, or some ornaments in return for their gold.

Taxes were also entirely remitted. Those who performed sacrifices (*Ritviks*), spiritual guides, preceptors, priests, and those learned in the Vedas were granted free (*Brahmacharya*) lands yielding sufficient produce, and were exempted from taxes and fines (Book II, chap. i, 46). All other learned men, orators, charitable and brave persons were also encouraged with gifts of land and money, and with the remission of taxes (Book XIII, chap. v. 407). Partial or temporary remission of taxes was made in case of construction of new tanks, lakes, etc., for five years, and for four years for repairing such works of public utility, and for three years for improving or extending water works. Land taxes for such works were remitted for two years in connection with the purchase or mortgage of such lands. "Out of crops grown by irrigation by means of wind mills or bullocks, or below tanks, in fields, parks, flower-gardens or in any other way only so much of the produce as would not entail hardship on the cultivators might be given to the government". Persons who are permitted to enjoy such lands free of rent of any kind were, however, required to keep the tanks etc., in good repair.

The king's establishment charges for maintaining his servants, as stated by Kautilya (Book V, chap. iii, 245) were fixed at under one-fourth of the total revenue. But the king had to look to the bodily comforts of his

servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to work and prevent the violation of the course of righteousness. Thus the emoluments were enough to meet the necessities of living and position, and prevent unfair means of earning. Thus 48000 paṇas, the highest pay, was fixed for the prime-minister who performed the duties of the State, the adviser and priest, the commander-in-chief of the army, the heir-apparent to the throne, the queen mother or dowager and the chief queen. The door keeper, the superintendent of the harem, chief legislator or law-officer (Prasāstri), the collector general of revenue received 24000 paṇas each. The princes other than the crown prince, the governess of the prince, the chief police officer (Nāyaka), the city magistrate, the chief officer in charge of commerce, the Superintendent of factories (Karmāntika), members of the council of ministers other than the chief minister, the surveyer general in charge of country parts and boundaries received 12,000 paṇas each. The chiefs of military corporation, elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, and the commissioners of a division (Pradesāra) received 8,000 paṇas each. The superintendents of infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants and the guards of timber forest and elephant forest received 4,000 paṇas each. The chariot drivers, the physician of the army, the trainer of horses, the state engineer (Bauddhika) and those who reared animals received 2000 paṇas each. The trade soldiers, accountants and writers or clerks received 500 paṇas each. The state musicians got 250 paṇas, but the trumpet blowers got twice as much. The artisans and carpenters received 120 paṇas each. Servants in charge of the state animals and birds, workmen doing miscellaneous work, attendants upon the royal person, king's body guard and the procurer of free lovers received 60 paṇas each. A messenger of ordinary qualifications received 10 paṇas for each yojana he travelled and twice as much when he travelled 10 to 100 yojanas. The king's representative at the Rājasūya and the other sacrifices, and the charioteer of the king in the sacrifices received 1,000 paṇas not as a salary but probably as honorarium. Similarly an honorarium of 1000 paṇas was given to the play-mate of the king, the elephant driver, the sorcerer, the spotter of the mines in mountains and all other kinds of temporary attendants, teachers and learned men. Similarly the ideal house-holder,

merchant and ascetic, and the temporary spies received 1000 panas each as honorarium. The village servant, inferior spies and mendicant women received 500 panas as honorarium, and lastly the servants assisting the spies received 250 panas.

All the royal servants received a special allowance on the occasion of funeral, sickness, and child birth. The sons and wives of those who died while on duty received a subsistence allowance and a pension where it was necessary.

These particulars will show that there was an equitable system of salaries, allowances and pensions which were fixed on a sound principle. The amount fixed was computed to be sufficient according to the individual requirement. It kept the people free from discontentment and unfair means of earning. It also ensured loyalty and attachment. Two points, however, remain obscure. What would be the equivalent of one pana to the modern coinage is not exactly known, and the period for which various amounts of salaries quoted above was fixed is also a matter of uncertainty. If one pana could be interpreted as being equivalent to one rupee of the present day then these salaries may be taken, as some scholar think to be, for a year rather than for a month.

The particulars of royal revenues quoted above should make it clear that taxes were imposed on all sources of income, land forests, manufacture, agriculture, minerology, industry, cattle breeding, traffic, exports and imports etc. A reasonable part of income from all profession went to the state which supplied protection, law and order under which conditions only one can earn any income. There is no reference available to any poll tax or tax on any unproductive adventure like theft. On the other hand the prostitutes and gamblers, etc., were taxed for social good and to prevent encouragement of immoral traffic. The toleration at the same time of gambling and prostitution would imply the individual liberty with which the sovereignty of the state did not interfere. Thus for the means of livelihood for individuals and communities white, spotted and black means were tolerated to which reference has already been made in the preceding chapter. But so far as the State revenues were concerned there as no such liberty or indulgence in different sources of income. On the other hand there

was no restriction laid down by the State on the liberty of one spending his income as he liked except of course on the performance of the fivefold basic daily duties of all house holders which no doubt required a portion of his income. But the state had no such liberty, even the household expenses of the king himself was fixed for which only he could draw from the state treasury, the rest of the revenue had to be spent for the good of the society only. In fact the items of the state expenditure will indicate more clearly the standard of civilization and culture achieved in the political life of the ancient Hindus.

Vyaya śarira or the main heads of state expenditure according to Kautilya included at the outset the maintenance of the church, literally the chanting of hymns to gods and ancestors. Although the material progress was never ignored the aim of the state policy in all the Hindu period was the moral uplift and spiritual development. The government establishment, although required even for the maintenance of the church, was the next item of royal expenses which were incidental on the maintenance of peace and order by courts of justice, police, public works, etc. Maintenance of a permanent army in an efficient form was the next item of expenditure from the royal revenues. It was necessary to maintain the armoury for the production of weapons and munitions, army store of food and clothes, maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants. Provisions were also made both for military and civil purposes for maintaining warehouse, raw-materials, factories, labourers, herds of cattle comprising cows, horses etc., fodder, and fire wood. And lastly the expenses were drawn from the revenues for the king's house, modestly called here, kitchen, which intended to supply the bare necessities for the king and his family. Although the Hindu king was never called a public servant his main function was to please, of course by service the subjects as indicated by the chief designation, *raja*, and fully illustrated by the conduct of the ideal king Ramachandra who renounced the royal throne and consort in order to please the subjects. In fact there is hardly any instance available in the Vedas, Jain and Buddhist scriptures, in the Epics and the Puranas, in the poems and dramas which would go to indicate any extortion exercised by the Hindu kings of the past. Even the

rulers of the Historical period till twelfth century after Christ were free from any accusation of extortion. No one king in the lines of the Sisunagas, Nandas, Mauryas, Andhras, Pallavas, Guptas, Chālukyas, Rashtrakūtas, Palas and Senas proved to be anything but the *rāji* or the pleaser of the subjects. There were, however, rulers like queen Didda who in Kashmir indulged for a short time in a reign of terror.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The branches of Civil administration are indicated by the departmental heads and superintendents of various offices. The general principles of administration were drawn from local usages and from the Institutes of the sacred law as stated by Manu (viii, 3). Thus the judicial devices and the legal rules were constantly mingled with moral exhortations. A distinction was however recognised in the treatment of civil and criminal law. In regard to rules on judicial procedure and Civil law, Manu discusses more elaborately the moral side of the duties, incumbent on the judge and the other persons concerned than to the technicalities which are much more minutely described in the Dharmaśāstras of Yajñavalkya and Narada¹. Among the ancient law books the Vāśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra (xvi, 10, 14-15) is the only authority which alludes to written documents and names therein.

The aim of the administration was to eradicate offences. The king's two-fold duties, according to Kautilya, included enforcing the recognised laws and promoting new laws (Dharma Pravartaka). Thus the justice consisted in promoting the dharma and vyavahāra. The former safeguarded the correct conduct of life in matters of the Samskāras or the sacramental duties of parents towards children, and sacrifices or social and public duties of a householder and the observance of āśramas of four castes. Vyavahāra safeguarded laws like contract, agreement, trade, purchase, sale, pact, etc. The aim of justice was also to promote *achāra* and *charitra*, that is, traditional usage and practice by the aristocracies, and *sāśana* or royal degree.

1. For further details see Weber, *History of Indian Literature* pp. 279, 281; Stenzler *Yajñavalkya*, pp. vii, x; *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. ix; Jolly, *Tagore Law Lectures*, pp. 45, 49.

In conformity with the general aim of the civil administration there were protective laws in general (dharmāsthiya) and penal laws of police measures to eradicate offences (kaṇṭaka-śodhana). Thus the civil law was based on the principle of maintaining prosperity (dhana-samudbhava) and the criminal law on checking the tendency to retard law and order (himsā-samudbhava).

The court of justice was formed of eight classes of officers. The king passed the final degree. The chief justice pronounced the sentence. The judges examined facts and scrutinized evidence in order to arrive at a correct decision. The law books comprising local usages and dharmaśāstras were the authorities and guide of the trial judges. In doubtful cases the judgment had to be confirmed by ordeals of gold, water, fire, etc. The Court Accountant assessed damages and fines according to law. The scribe or the trial clerk wrote the judgment from dictation of the judge and passed orders of the court. The usher guarded the court room in order to provide undisturbed atmosphere. The judge was assisted by three assessors as stated by Manu (viii, 10). The interpretation of the recognized law was entrusted to a learned Brahmana probably the prime minister (vii, 20). The administration of justice was entrusted to three members acquainted with sacred law (dharmasthas) and three ministers (amātyas) of the king (as stated by Kautilya Book III, chap i, 148).

The titles that gave rise to law-suits as stated by Manu (viii, 4-7) included eighteen topics: the non-payment of debts; deposit and pledge; sale without ownership; concerns among partners; resumption of gifts; non-payment of wages; non-performance of agreements; recession of sale and purchase; dispute between owners of cattle and his servants, dispute regarding boundaries; assault; defamation; theft, robbery and violence; adultery, duties of man and wife; partition of inheritance, and gambling and betting.

In dealing with any of these suits the judge was required, as stated by Kautilya (Book VIII, chap. ix 221) not to threaten, browbeat, send out or unjustly silence any one of the disputants in his court. He was required not to defame or abuse any of them. He was not to omit, to ask what ought to be asked and was not to ask what

ought not to be asked. He was not to leave out of consideration what he himself had asked and directed. He was not to make unnecessary delay in discharging his duty, postponing work with spite or causing parties to leave the court by tiring them with delay. He was not to evade or cause to evade statements that would lead to the settlement of the case. He was not to help witnesses giving them clues or to resume cases already settled or disposed.

The trial clerk was required to be careful to record what had been deposed by parties and was not to enter what had not been deposed. He was not to evade what had been indistinctly said or he was not to render either diverse or ambiguous in meaning such depositions as were satisfactorily given out. The chief justice was required to revise without any prejudice the findings of the court, the interpretation of the recognised law by the expert Brāhman counsel, the estimate of damages and fines calculated by the court accountant, and to be satisfied that the trial was conducted without interruption by disturbance. Thus the chief justice acted as a revision court and there appears to have been no summary trial however petty a case might have been. The assessors whom the judge had to consult provided further check upon the miscarriage of justice. The king himself who had to approve of the revised judgment by the chief justice had to be careful because there appears to have been a curious provision of a fine for the king also. It is stated clearly by Kautilya (Book iv, chap. xiii, 234) that 'when the king punishes an innocent man, he shall throw into water dedicating to God Varuna a fine equal to thirty times the unjust imposition, and this amount shall afterwards be distributed among the Brāhmanas'. This shows that despite all precautions miscarriage of strict justice was possible and that the king himself was not beyond the scope of law. There could certainly be no higher ideal of justice and impartiality in the eyes of law.

The punishment prescribed will indicate that they were never vindictive. Despite doubtful references in general literature to capital punishment or removal of certain limbs the most recognised forms of punishment comprised as stated by Manu (VIII, 129) at the outset a gentle admonition, afterwards harsh reprove, thirdly a fine, and after that corporal chastisement including probably imprisonment and

loss of a limb or life. Kautilya has referred throughout his Arthasāstra to a long list of fines for spies for false information, for neglecting to maintain dependent persons, for killing an elephant, that is, cruelty to animals, for deception in gems, for driving out robbers by a hint, that is, for abetting robbery, for loss and misappropriation of royal revenue, for the fabrication of accounts and neglecting to prepare and check the account, for falsehood of a minister, for not enforcing the king's orders, for false accusation of a government servant, for negligence of one's duties, for niggardliness and extravagance, for carelessness in the manufacture of coins, for adulteration of salt, etc., for manufacture of salt without licence, for entrance into the mint without permission, for artisans for neglect of work, for manufacture of gold and silver articles outside the prescribed place, for using unstamped weights and measures, for deception in manufacturing gold and silver articles, for misnaming merchandise, for enhancing the value of articles, for not paying the toll, for smuggling, for importing forbidden articles, for purchasing minerals directly from mines, for purchasing flowers and fruits from gardens and grains from fields without giving the royal share, for not doing the work paid for, for adultery in the weaving factory, for stealing articles in the weaving factory, for carpenters for not doing their works, for unauthorised manufacture of liquor, for trespassing in the reserve forests, for killing or molesting harmless beasts, for false weight, for selling rotten flesh; for a prostitute for entrusting her jewellery to any other persons and for mortgaging her property, and for defamation for not fulfilling engagements, for murdering her lover, for violating, abducting or hurting a prostitute; for fording rivers, for neglect of duty by cowherds, for cowherds for milking cows many times a day, for letting bulls to fight, for grooms for neglect of work and for riding horses against orders, for carelessness in treating the disease of animals and in rearing animals; for travelling without a pass, for not reporting arrival and departure of strangers, for keeping fire against order and not keeping any instruments to extinguish fire and not helping to extinguish fire, for causing the outbreak of fire, for throwing dirt in the street, for committing nuisance in the street, for throwing carcass of animals inside the city, for taking a dead body through forbidden roads, for cremating dead bodies in forbidden places, for moving in the streets

of the city at night after the trumpet sound, for moving near royal buildings, for moving with clubs in the city ; for watchmen for adultery and for neglect of their duty ; for an officer for not reporting nocturnal nuisance ; for taking part in illegal transactions, for entering into fraudulent agreements, for self-assertion and making false complaints ; for a wife for disobedience, for husband for cruelty to wife, for a woman for transgression, for wife for the contempt of her husband, for adultery, for a woman for making forbidden transaction, for a wife for going out of her husband's house, for a woman for taking another man's wife into her house, for preventing a woman from helping kinsmen when necessary, for a woman for not helping during child birth, for going to another village, for accompanying strangers on her way, for illegal remarriage ; for not making water-course and drains near the house, for not keeping the fire place, corn mill, etc., in the house, for damaging neighbouring houses and water courses, etc., for unlawful occupation of a house, for a tenant for forcing out of the house another tenant, for obstructing the use of any part of the house intended for common use ; for bidding in the sale of a property in the absence of its owner, for selling things to any other but the bidder, for destroying boundary marks, for encroachment upon boundaries, for walking on crops, for closing the sluice gate of tanks, for obstruction to roads, for encroachment upon a neighbouring field, for selling and mortgaging land to persons who are not cultivators ; for Brahmans for selling or mortgaging Brahmadeya lands to non-Brahmans ; for the headman of a village for banishing a villager and for villagers for doing the same ; for allowing cattle to trespass or to stray, for driving cattle through a field, for hurting cattle ; for a labourer for not doing the work as agreed upon, for not taking part in a work beneficial to the whole village, for exceeding the authorised rate of interest, for claiming more than the amount lent out, for a creditor for refusing to receive the payment of his debt and thereby stopping his exaction of interest, for running away without paying a debt, for master and servant suing each other instead of compromising themselves ; for bearing false witness, for misappropriating a deposit, for not reconveying a pledge, for enslaving an Arya, for deceiving a slave, for employing slaves in mean works, for violating the chastity of a slave-woman or a nurse etc., for committing rape with a slave-girl, for selling a pregnant slave-woman without provision for her

confinement, for failure to set a slave free on receipt of a ransom, for keeping a slave in confinement, for enslaving a liberated slave; for failure to pay wages, for misappropriating wages, for a labourer for putting off work, for an employer for not taking work from his labourers; for guilds of workmen for taking away any thing from places of work and for leaving any thing undone and for deserting their company; for a sacrificer for dismissing a priest; for merchants for refusal to give delivery of an article sold; for a superintendent for causing a merchandise to perish; for giving a girl in marriage without announcing her blemishes; for concealing a bridegroom's blemishes; for selling diseased birds; for receiving gratification, money etc. by intimidation; for conspiracy to hurt a person; for showing haughtiness to the king; for running away with a stolen property; for claiming a lost property not one's own; for making possession of an unclaimed property without permission; for improper proceeding against ascetics; for pilfering; for cattle-lifting; for keeping persons in prisons, for releasing prisoners by force, for abetment of robbery, for using abusive expressions for intimidation and defamation, for causing a man to fall down, for striking and hurting a man, for robbery in a quarrel, for causing damage to the wall of another's house, for throwing hurtful things inside the house of others, for beating animals with sticks, for cutting off branches of fruit trees; for gambling outside the gambling house, for substituting dice and false play in gambling, for the superintendent of a gambling house for the neglect of his duties; for not returning borrowed or hired things, for sitting under the shade of a tree longer than allowed; for deception in paying a cess or freight while passing rivers etc.; for causing a row, for not delivering an entrusted property; for dragging the wife of a brother and adultery with her; for selling bad things; for breaking open the locked door of a house, for hurting, for misappropriation of the revenue of a private person; for adultery with a widow; for a Chandala touching an Arya woman; for not rescuing a person in danger; for feeding Buddhists and Ajivikas in an ancestral ceremony; for unauthorised criminal trial; for impersonating a government servant; for rendering quadrupeds impotent, for causing abortion to a female slave by medicine etc.; for father and son for abandoning each other, for abandoning a helping person, for deserting company in travelling together, for illegal confinement, for artisans for postponing

engagements; for deception in spinning and weaving by substituting other yarns; for washermen for washing on rough stones; for wearing unstamped clothes, for selling or mortgaging those clothes or substituting them, for keeping clothes longer than allotted period; for goldsmith for purchasing gold and silver articles from suspicious hands; for deception in manufacturing articles and for stealing gold etc.; for the examiner of coins for declaring a tampered coin to be good, for misappropriation of coins by tampering, for manufacturing and using counterfeit coins, or depositing the same into the treasury; for scavengers for taking precious stones, for taking possession of a treasure trove and for stealing the same; for a physician for carelessness in treatment; for musician for too much indulgence; for using false balances, for deception in counting and in trade, for causing annoyance to artisans, for traders for preventing sale, for middlemen for deception, for adulteration of articles, for enhancing prices, for not rescuing person carried by floods and from a tiger, for receiving bribes, for extortions for false witnesses, for witchcraft, for poisoning, for robbery, for association with the condemned, for false accusation, for concealing a thief, for the use of false seals, for wilful proceedings of a judge, for the misdeeds of a clerk, for unjust punishments, for false judgment, for releasing prisoners, for letting out debtors from lockup, for the superintendent of a jail for bribery, for causing prisoners to escape, for adultery in a jail, for mutilation of limbs for pick-pocketing, for impersonating, for blinding a person, for fabricating the king's order, for removing the images of gods and their ornaments etc., for illegal possession of anything; for causing fatal wounds, abortion and death; for spreading false rumours, for obstructing travellers, for house-breaking, for cremating the condemned, for helping murderers etc., for treason against the kingdom, for forcing entrance into the harem, for creating disaffection, for patricide, for breaking the dam of a tank, for wife for murdering her husband, for setting fire to pastures, for stealing weapons, for disregarding kitchens of Brahmans, for insulting the king, for castrating a man, for hurting another, for defiling a maiden, for impersonating a bridegroom, for deception and securing a bride, for substituting a maiden in marriage, for carnal connection with a slave, for keeping a relative's woman, for giving prohibited food etc., to Brahmans etc., for mounting the roof of one's own as well as of others at

night, for breaking fences of villages etc., for construction of unstable houses, for stealing the rope of an animal, throwing stones etc., at carts, for not rescuing a man from beasts, for causing horned animals to fight, for causing hurt by letting loose untamed animals, for stealing or riding on a dedicated animal like the bull, for rash driving, for unnatural sexual connection, for a nun for adultery, and for concealing or hoarding grains and for the king for miscarriage of justice (Book iv. chap xiii, 234).

Even the Brahmans were not exonerated from the payment of a fine and the people of other castes had to pay in kind if they were unable to pay in cash as stated by Manu (ix. 229). 'A Kshatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra who are unable to pay a fine shall discharge the debt by labour; a Brahman shall pay it by instalment'.

These particulars should clarify several disputed points regarding the civil administration. First of all these various fines will indicate the thorough and complete vigilance of the government. Then, all these laws are not to be found in the Dharmaśāstras. The rates of fines for various minor offences must have been fixed by the king in consultation with his councils which thus prove to be a sort of legislative bodies also and make laws of local and periodical interest. The next point to note is that in the eyes of law all people of the state were equal, all individual officials or non-officials and all communities including the Brahmans who are falsely accused of partiality in making laws were punished in the same way for same or similar offences. Unlike in other nations the king himself set a noble example by providing a penalty on him for an offence of omission or commission in the discharge of his royal duties as an individual member of the state. Similarly all correlatives were punished for failure of duties *viz.* both husband and wife, parents and children, the ruler and the ruled, servant and the master, the employer and employee, the trader and the customer including the washerman and the milkman. Cognizance was taken of all sorts of laxity and sexual immorality, theft, deception, fraud, breach of contract or implied agreement, trespass, negligence and aiding and abetting others in unlawful deeds.

Treatment of women and the weak and a standard of sexual morality as already pointed out are examples

at once of the individual liberty and the sovereignty of the state. The standard of a civil administration is clearly indicated by the rules of taxation and punishment laid down to regulate the social life. It is stated by Kautilya (Book iv, chap. xii, 229-231) that he who defiles a maiden before she has reached her maturity his hand would be cut off and a fine imposed but if the maiden dies in consequence the offender should be put to death. No man shall have sexual intercourse with any woman against her will. He who defiles a woman of maturity without her consent should be heavily punished and shall receive lesser punishment when the offence is done with consent. But it would be no offence for a man of equal caste and rank to have connection with a maiden who has been unmarried for three years after her first menses. For committing intercourse with a woman outside a village or for spreading false report regarding such things, double the usual fines shall be imposed.

An instance of capital punishment and loss of a limb inflicted on rare occasions is supplied by the passage quoted above. Thus all the four forms of punishment illustrated above will show that the principle of punishment in ancient India was never vindictive but the object was corrective and deterrent.

Considering all the points of civil administration it is justified to hold the view that 'no higher principle of civil administration is known to exist anywhere even at modern times.' As regard the Army Command the office of the Senapati, the commander-in-chief, goes back to the earliest times of the Vedas, the Epics, the Buddhist and the Jain texts, and the Puranas. In the historical period, as in the time of the Imperial Guptas, newer and more significant military titles came into use. Thus in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta *Mahā-danda-nāyaka*, great leader of forces, was used as a technical military title. The officer who held this rank was the superior of the *Danda-nāyakas*, leader of forces. We also meet with titles *Dandānātha*, *Dandādhinātha*, *Dandādhipa*, *Dandādhipati*, *Dandēśa*, and *Dandēśvara* as synonyms when *danda* means army or forces. Similarly *Chamunātha*, *Chamupa*, *Chamupati*, etc., in which *chamu* means 'army' are used in the Kargudari inscription of Vikramāditya VI and Tailapa II as commander-in-chief of the army. In the Bala-

gamve inscription Dandanyaka is defined as samastasenigresara or leader of the whole army. In the Allahabad pillar inscription Sāṁdhi-Vigrahakika, lit. an officer for peace and war, is used as a technical military title. In the Indian Antiquary (vol. iv, p. 125, vol. vii, p. 70; vol. viii p. 20) are found used synonymous titles Sāṁdhi-Vigrahādhikaranādhikrita Vigrahādhikrita and Sāṁdhi-vigrahin coupled with Mahāpradhāna and Danda-nāyaka. The next higher grade was that of Mahā-sāṁdhi-vigrahika which is used in the Khoh grant of Mahārāja Hastin of the year 163. Several other titles of lower grades must have been used. The tradition has been retained by the title of Nayaka used in modern Indian army-commander of a small unit.

Kings themselves led the army as stated not only in Vedic texts but also in the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāmachandra and Lakshmana with the monkey-general Hanuman conquered Ravana and rescued Sita. Arjuna, Duryodhana, Bhishma, Karna and others of the Mahābhārata fame fought personally at the battle-fields. Abhimanyu, 16 year son of Arjuna fought against the combined attack of seven generals of the Kaurava army. Chandra-gupta Maurya in the 4th century B. C. gallantly opposed the Grecian army. In the 4th century A. D. Saṁudragupta is stated in his Allahabad pillar inscription to have been 'skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds' and he was praised because his 'most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds' caused by a number of the then known weapons. His great grandson Skandagupta as stated in the Junagarh Rock inscription of 455-58 A. D. won victory in the countries of the Mlechchhas, and in conquering the Pushyimitras in order to restore the fallen fortunes of his family spent 'the whole night on the bare earth in the battle-field' as described in his Bhitari pillar inscription. Instances like these may be multiplied *ad infinitum*. According to Manu (vii, 65-66) although the army commands depend on the military officers placed in charge of it, the due control on the army, the treasury and government of the realm as a whole rests with the king, and peace and war with the ambassador who alone makes king's allies and separate allies and transacts that business by which the kings are united or disunited. Traditionally the forces comprised four arms, viz. foot, horse, chariots, and elephants as constantly mentioned

in the Epics and other branches of Sanskrit literature. But the navy was not unknown. Even king Harsha of Kanauj makes mention of *nau, n vy*, along with the four traditional arms in his three inscriptions. Kautilya in his Arthashastra mentions a sixth branch, the armament or munitions of war including the great guns with which a ship is armed. In addition to those weapons described in the Mahabharata and other early literature we come across an interesting list in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta viz. battle axes (*paraśu*), arrows (*śara*), spears (*śarku*), pikes (*śakti*), barbed darts (*prāśa*), swords (*asi*), lances (*tomara*), javelins for throwing (*bhāndipāla*), iron arrows (*nārācha*) pistol or small hand gun of the size of a span (*vaitastika*) and many others. Fire-arms of other kinds sounding like the latest atomic bombs vaguely called the *agneyāstra* in the Mahabharata were also used obviously from some kind of field gun or artillery. Great heroes like Arjuna conducted painstaking researches in order to discover new weapons to deal with the powerful enemy as significantly described by Bhishma in his *Kirātārjuna*.

The strategy of war in conducting a campaign and manœuvring an army was well understood. Elaborate description is available in various branches of Sanskrit literature concerning the military posts, season of expedition, and technical devices for overpowering the enemy¹. A regular army was maintained and military expenditure formed a special item in the budget. Thus came into being a whole class of warriors who subsequently were consolidated into a caste whose profession it was to be trained in warfare. Training was given in various kinds of fighting as in open country, in hollow ground by saps and trenches, by day and by night.

According to Manu (VII, 87-95) a king who is defied by foes of superior, equal or weaker strength must not shrink from battle remembering the caste duties of Kshatriyas or warriors viz. not to turn back in battle, to protect the people, not to strike with weapons concealed in wood, nor with such as are barbed, poisoned

1. Compare the complaints raised during the last world war II regarding the use of atomic bombs, pilotless air planes and many other unfair means.

or the points of which are blazing with fire, not to strike one who is in flight nor one who surrenders saying 'I am thine', nor one who joins the palms of his hands in supplication, nor one who sleeps in fatigue, who has lost his coat of mail (weapons for protection), who is disarmed and is not fighting or is engaged with another foe, nor one whose weapons are broken, who is afflicted with sorrow, has been grievously wounded, or in fear or has turned to flight. But the duty of an honourable warrior does not permit him to turn back in fear.

The duty of the king is to protect and not to oppress subjects (Manu, vii 2-3, 35, 80, 88, 111-112, 142-144; viii 172, 303-309, ix. 253; x 80, 119) but to punish the wicked (vii, 14-34; viii. 302-303, 310-311, 335, 343-347; ix 252-293, 312), to shun the eighteen vices (vii. 44-53),¹ to build safe residence and fortress (vii. 69-76) and to fight bravely and honourably (vii, 87-97, 184-204 x. 119). In this last passage the whole strategy and expedition is elaborated. 'The king should leisurely proceed for warfare against the enemy's capital after having duly arranged all affairs in his own kingdom and what relates to the expedition, having secured a basis for his operations, having duly dispatched his spies, having cleared the three kinds of roads, and having made his sixfold army efficient. He must be very much on his guard against a friend who secretly serves the enemy and against deserters who return from the enemy's camp. He should then march on his road, arraying his troops in an oblong like a staff or in a wedge like a waggon, or in a rhombus like a boar, or in two triangles with apieces joined like a Makara, or in a long line like a pin, or in a rhomboid with far extended wings like the Garuda bird. He should always himself encamp in an array shaped like a lotus and

1 Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, excess with women, drunkenness, inordinate love for dancing, singing and music, and useless travels—these ten set of vices spring from love of pleasure; the eight fold set of vices produced by anger consist of tale bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, unjust seizure of property, revelling, and assault,

extend his troops from whatever side he apprehends danger. He should allot to the commander-in-chief, to the subordinate generals, and to the superior officers places in all directions and turn his front in that direction whence he fears danger. On all sides he should place troops of soldiers on whom he can rely, with whom signals have been arranged, who are expert both in sustaining a charge and in charging, fearless and loyal. He should make a small number of soldiers fight in close order or extend a large number in loose ranks, or make them fight arranging a small number in the needle array and a large number in the thunderbolt array. On the even ground he should fight with chariots (tanks) and horses, in water-bound places with boats and elephants, on ground covered with trees and shrubs with bows, on hill ground with swords, targets and other weapons. He should let the tall and light soldiers fight in the van of the battle. As the supreme commander he should carefully inspect the troops and encourage them by an address. He should also mark the behaviour of the soldiers when they engage the enemy. When he has besieged a town and shut up his foe within it he should sit encamped, harass his enemy's kingdom, and continually spoil his grass, food, fuel, and water, and destroy the tanks, ramparts and ditches, and assail the foe unawares and alarm him at night. He should instigate to rebellion those who are open to such instigations, and keep himself correctly informed of his foe's doings, and at an opportune moment he should fight without fear, trying to conquer his foes at first by conciliation, by well applied gifts and by creating dissensions, used either separately or conjointly, and never by fighting if it can be avoided because victory and defeat in the battle are as experience teaches uncertain. But when those three expedients fail he should duly exert himself and fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies. When he has gained victory he should grant exemptions, and proclaim promises of safety. The seizure of desirable property which causes displeasure and its distribution which causes pleasure are commendable if resorted to at the proper time. But he should ascertain the wishes of all the conquered, and place there a relation of the vanquished ruler on the throne and impose on him his conditions. He should make authoritative

and the lawful customs of the inhabitants, and honour the new king and his chief servants with precious gifts.¹

The scientific achievement and the high standard of morality indicated by the details of the military administration remain unsurpassed even by the latest strategy of modern warfare. There can be no doubt that these principles were adhered to and actually practised by the historical kings of the Hindu period. The king Puru challenged the world conqueror Alexander the Great and declared to be treated like a king. The king Aśoka treated the vanquished enemy at the Kalinga war with consideration. Samudragupta entranced his glory by showing favour in capturing and then liberating kings Mahendra of Kośala, Vyaghraraja of Mahāśāntara, Mantaraja of Kerala, Mahendra of Piśhatpura, Svamidatta of Kottura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Vishnugopa of Kānchi, Nilaraja of Avamukta, Hastivarma of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarāshira, Dhananjaya of Kurthala pura, and all other kings of the region of the south. He exterminated Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandra-varman, Ganapatināga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman and many other kings of the north (Āryavarta). He made all the kings of the forest countries his allies and servants. He secured with grace obeisance, obedience and taxes from the frontier kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kāmarupa, Nepala, Karttipura and other countries, and from the tribal heads of Mālavas, Arjunāvanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanasānikas, Kakas, Kharaparikas and other tribes. He re-established many royal families fallen and deprived of sovereignty who became his firm allies and included Devaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahies, Sakas and Murandas. The people of Simhala and other islands also submitted to him.²

Thus it should be noted that Sanskrit treatise on government is not a mere "scholastic apriori air". The enumerations and distinctions 'are not forced on the

1 It should be noted that the modern strategy has not much improved upon these plans of attack.

2 Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, lines 19—25.

facts' but can be scientifically extracted from the analysis of them.¹

Professor Keith, however, declares that the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra asserts that 'government is essential to them all; without it there would be the reign of anarchy everywhere; under the sceptre the four castes and their ordered ways of life prosper, Kāma, Artha, and Dharma fulfilled; while with Machiavelli the "State is all in all." In a vague manner, the Arthaśāstra means by the 'state' an order of society "which the state does not create but which it exists to secure". The end of the government, it holds, is the maintenance of a firm rule. It recognizes the kings as no more than a servant of the state. It surmises the relation of the King with the subjects—"in the happiness of his people lies the happiness of the king, in their well-being his well-being; his own pleasure is not the king's well-being, but the pleasure of his people is his well-being" Culturally there can be no nobler ideal and oath than that which the rulers had to declare at the time of coronation as stated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of pre-Buddhistic age; "If I (king) oppress you (subjects) let me be deprived of fruits of my all good actions during my life time, during next life, and of my descendants."²

The ecclesiastical administration concerning the temple which is discussed in a later section dealing with basic arts will make it further clear beyond doubt by epigraphical and monumental records that the literary evidences were not unreliable.

1 Compare the remarks quoted from the three authors of Ancient India.

2 Yam cha ratrim ajayoham yam cha pretigni tad ubhayam antaren eshta partam me lokam sukṛitam ayuh prajam vṛiṣjitha yadi te druhyeyamiti (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa).

CHAPTER IV

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

ETHICS

The laws by which the life of civilized people living in family, community, society, and state is regulated and ruled are not arbitrary. They are derived from the ethical principles, philosophical reasoning and the religious faith and belief. In the modern society especially of the west, the moral life is totally disconnected from the spiritual life. The state laws are entirely based on the ethical principles, the religious faith and belief being considered a matter of individuals rather than of society as a whole. In the Indian philosophy, however, metaphysics was the basis of social life.

The ethical principles dealing with relation between man and man consist in determining right and wrong, and good and evil of the society as a whole. In the most developed condition of the society the greatest good of the largest number is aimed at. This aim has given rise to the republican or democratic form of government with widest franchise so that a decision can be arrived at after the consideration of all shades of opinion and by a majority of votes. The ascertainment of right from wrong led the Hindu thinkers to the consideration of the metaphysical problems, concerning the relation of mortal man and immortal soul and spirit, namely, human good not only in this life but also in the next. The modern materialistic states, however, do not care to consider the fate of the human existence after the end of this life, something like ignoring the fate of sons and daughters after they have been married and left the parental shelter.

The laws based on ethical principles are mostly applicable to state laws. The social laws are based on religious faith and belief, or customs and tradition. The state laws are subject to experiment and reasoning. The social laws may be reasoned but hardly can be experimented. The laws based on religious faith and belief govern the social customs and rites. They are

not subject to experiment but may be reasoned to a certain degree and from certain points of view. They are, however, intended to satisfy the spiritual instinct of cultured people.

The Hindu laws in Sanskrit are known as Vyavahara or usage. They are based on Dharma which implies both ethics and religion. Thus the lawbooks, Dharmaśāstra, contain regulations regarding prayer and sacrifice, funeral ceremonies, purification and penance, food and drink, manner of living, customs of various castes, and the duties of kings and councillors. The duties of rulers and executives alone are referred to in modern law-books which are based on ethics.

The Vedas are the first and foremost source of our Dharma-śāstra. The Vedas contain occasional notices about legal affairs along with data about sacrifice, penances, prayers, etc. Āpastamba in his Dharmaśāstra (2, 14, 11) quotes a Vedic passage, the purport of which is that Manu divided his property equally among his sons. Thus Āpastamba lays down the law of inheritance that unequal division of property among lawful sons is forbidden. Similarly a law was made regarding compensation for murder. Thus came into the law-books different sections dealing with the law of inheritance, of legal procedure, and other features of law proper.

After the Veda, the second source of law comprises the Dharmaśāstras and the Smṛitis. The third source of law is the custom or ways of living and the teachings of pious men (sadachāra, śishṭachāra). The particular manners of particular countries, castes, and families are also the main features of modern laws, for which the other two sources are absent or rare. The first two gave rise to sacred or religious laws, and the third one to the ethical laws.

Thus in India ethical or moral laws gave rise to the systems of philosophy proper and the spiritual faith and belief to the various forms of religion. Both these functions, however, are combined in a way by certain schools of Indian philosophy. Theology, as has already been defined, is the science which treats of god and of man's duty to him. It is known as Natural when it is discoverable by the light of reasoning alone; and it is Positive or revealed when it is based on the

study of divine revelation. As a science it has affinity with the theistic systems of philosophy. The various forms of religion developed out of the positive or revealed theology. Thus for the moral and spiritual life of the Hindus only the Metaphysics of the Indian philosophy need be considered here as it deals with problems regarding the relation between the creator and creation, the other problems of both the theistic and atheistic systems having been discussed under the survey of the philosophical literature.

PHILOSOPHY

The Purva-mimamsa of Jaimini is more a theology rather than a system of philosophy. Its aim is to interpret the practical matters of the Vedic sacrifices. According to it Dharma (religion) consists in the performance of the Vedic rites and sacrifices. Though not devoid of reasoning it assumes as in the theology proper, the Veda as the only god and authority and the performance of the Vedic sacrifices is the only means of propitiating the supernatural powers for the purpose of attaining the Moksha, release, emancipation or salvation and the heavenly bliss which is the sole aim of life (purushārtha). Jaimini does not feel the necessity of God, the Vedic duties bringing forth the result automatically.

The Vedānta system assumes an omniscient, omnipotent god as the efficient and material cause of the universe, its existence, continuance and dissolution. It admits the fruits of Vedic sacrifices; but God alone can give those fruits. But the salvation is achieved through the true knowledge of God. It is more philosophical because it aims at knowing the god by reasoning (Brahma-jijñāsa). By reason of ignorance or false knowledge (avidyā, māyā), it is assumed, an individual mistakes the world as well as its body and mind for realities. The moment the personal soul is set free from this ignorance by a proper understanding of the truth all the illusion vanishes, and the identity of the personal soul (jīvātmā) and of the phenomenal universe (pratibhasika jagat) with the supreme soul (parmatmā) is re-established. A man persuaded of this knowledge that I am He and that you are He (aham Brahmā, tat tvam asi) obtains release (mukti) and

salvation (moksha). This is mainly the view of the famous commentator Śāṅkara (c. 800). But the equally famous commentator Rāmaṇuja (c. 1100) holds the view that Moksha is not the merging of individual souls and matter into the absolute but it is the blissful existence. While the Moksha of Śāṅkara is won through the true knowledge of the absolute (jñānamarga) the blissful existence of Rāmaṇuja is attained through Bhakti or faith in and devotion to God (bhakti-marga). Thus Śāṅkara "represents the most sustained intellectual effort of Indian thought, and Rāmaṇuja represents a theory of the world which has many similarities to popular Christian belief."

This Viśiṣṭādvaita system of Rāmaṇuja admits of of three independent existences, *viz.* the supreme Being, the individual souls, and the visible world (driśya jagat). Thus it combines three separate doctrines, namely, unity, duality, and plurality. Unity is admitted in saying that all individual spirits and visible forms constitute the body of one spirit; Duality is admitted because the spirit of god and spirits of men are stated to be distinct; and Plurality is admitted in saying that the spirit of god, innumerable spirits of men, and the visible world are distinct.

The Parva-prajñā system of Mādhava-sāyana is a doctrine of Duality because Viṣṇu is held to be the one eternal being and the individual soul and material world form the other entity. According to the Nyāya system of Gautama God creates the world from the self-existent atoms. Thus there are several individual souls. The Apavarga or salvation can be achieved through the true knowledge, not only of God as in the Vedānta, but of all subjects and objects. This system aims at a correct method of philosophical inquiry into processes or proofs through which the mind arrives at the true and accurate knowledge of all objects and subjects. The four proofs (pramāṇa) comprise sense-perception (pratyakṣa), inference (anumāna), analogy (upamāna), and authority (śabda) of the Veda. The subjects (prameya) about which right knowledge is to be obtained by means of these reasonings include soul (ātman), body (śarīra), sense organs (indriya), matters or objects of sense (namely, dravya, guṇa, karman, samānya, viśeṣa, and samavāya), cognition (buddhi), mind (manas), effort (pravṛtti), fault (doṣa),

transmigration (pretya-bhava), fruition (phala), pain (duḥkha), and emancipation or salvation (apavarga). These are the 13 chief ingredients or categories of knowledge. There are 14 other accessories of knowledge and 7 more topics to prevent erroneous knowledge.

False knowledge is at the root of all misery. From false knowledge comes false liking, thence mistaken activity, thence repeated births to reap the fruit of action. From birth proceed misery, and it is the aim of the Nyāya philosophy to correct the false notions at the root of this misery. It holds matter composed of uncreated atoms, and souls eternal. It mentions God (īvara) once but does not recognize His moral attributes and government of the world.

The Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda, which is closely connected with Nyāya system, is based on the uncreated eternal atoms along with the Creator and individual souls. While the Nyāya Sūtra deals essentially with logical reasoning, the Vaiśeṣika represents a naturalistic view which finds in atom the basis of the material world. The individual souls are also eternal. These atoms and souls exist side by side with the supreme soul of the universe. It does not, however, mention God. It believes in the real activity of the soul, holds the effect to be different from the cause and the qualities from the substance. It holds that Viśeṣa is the cause of combination of atoms into various matters. According to it Nihśreyas (ultimate good or salvation) is achieved through the true knowledge of subjects and objects when the soul is purified by the performance of fruitless action. It adds the non-existence (abhava) as the seventh to the six categories of Nyāya, viz., substance¹ (dravya), quality² (guṇa), action (karman), generality (sāmānya), particularity (viśeṣa), co-inheritance (samavāya), and non-existence (abhava). These categories, resembling those of Aristotle, supply a complete analysis of all

1 Prithvi (earth), apas (water), tejas (light), vāyu (air), ākāśa (sky), kāla (time), dik (direction), ātma (soul), and manas (mind).

2 Rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), gandha (odour), sparśa (touch), sankhya (number), saṁyoga (conjunction), vibhāga (disjunction), parimāṇa (dimension), prāthaka va (separateness), paratva (posteriority), aparatva (priority), guruva (gravity), dravatva (fluidity), sneha (viscidity), śabda (sound), buddhi (intellect), sukha (pleasure), duḥkha (sorrow), icchā (desire), dvesha (abersion), prayatna (effort), dharma (merit), adharma (demerit) and saṁskāra (impression).

existing things and deal with the whole phenomena of existence.

The original view of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika Sūtras as to God is uncertain, both saying very little on the topic. But by the sixteenth century the followers of both the systems became completely theistic. The divergences between the two schools being gradually reduced to minor points, the reasoning and working over of both the systems had to assume the theistic view.

The Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta are the direct descendant of the Upanishads. The Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika systems do not at least go out of their way to challenge orthodoxy, and ultimately adopt more and more the authority of the scripture. The Sāṃkhya system of Kapila is atheistic because the existence of God cannot be proved (Īśvarasiddhah). Though developed as a preliminary stage from Kātha upanishad, it does not adopt the authority of the Veda. The Absolute of the Upanishads tends to become meaningless with the Sāṃkhya. Matter is given the power of self-evolution and has no connexion with the Absolute. It postulates an infinite number of spirits. Consciousness is explained by some form of contact between spirit and matter. Release (moksha) is attained when the unreality of any connexion between the two is appreciated. The Sāṃkhya, however, admits the conception of three principles of properties (guṇas), constituents rather than qualities, which pervade nature and man alike, viz., Sattva (gem) of creation, Rajas (desire for creation), and Tamas (ignorance of the effect of creation). Prakṛti and Puruṣa are the two primary agencies of creation. But the eternal and unchangeable Puruṣa, comprising countless souls of individuals, is without qualities and properties (guṇas) and inactive until combined with Prakṛti who in the Tantras is recognized as the mother of the universe. This system is based on 25 tattvas (elements or dogmas)¹ of which the origin is not sought to be explained. It does not adopt the authority of the Veda. It is expressly atheistic. But its ultimate aim is also Moksha (release).

1 Five Karmendriya, five Jñānendriya, five Bhūtas (prithivi, etc.), five Tanmatras (rūpa, rasa, etc.), and five categories comprising Buddhi, Mahākara, Manas, Prakṛti and Puruṣa. The true knowledge of the last two leads to the release (moksha) which is equivalent to the removal of pain.

which is attained through the knowledge of unreality of any connexion between spirit and matter. Sāṃkhya means complete knowledge of the 25 tattvas (categories). According to it action (kārya) is included in the cause (kāraṇa). The ultimate cause of the world is Prakṛiti or Pradhāna. The Puruṣa is not the enjoyer (bhoktā) of the Prakṛiti, because He is asanga (nirlipta) to any thing. The three qualities of Prakṛiti are sattva, rajas and tamas, the equilibrium of which is changed by association with Puruṣa. Thus are originated mahat or buddhi, ahankāra and the other tattvas. Puruṣa and individual soul imply the same idea. Due to ignorance Puruṣa appears as the enjoyer (bhoktā). When this ignorance is removed all pains cease and release (moksha) is obtained. The Yoga system of Patañjali agrees in general principles with the Sāṃkhya system. While the latter is based on 25 elements (tattvas) the former assumes 26 dogmas including God as the twenty-sixth. Thus Yoga is expressly theistic assuming the existence of God but Sāṃkhya is atheistic not acknowledging God openly. This supreme Being (Om) of the Yoga is a soul different from the secondary or individual souls unaffected by the ills with which they are beset. The great end of the Yoga doctrine is to obtain union (yoga) between the supreme soul and the individual souls by the suppression of the function of heart or desire (chitta-vṛtti-nirodha) through restrain (yama), performance of rites (niyama), practice of postures (āsana) of which there are 84, regulation of breath (prāṇāyāma), withdrawal or restraint of senses (pratyāhāra), fixed attention (dharāṇa), contemplation (dhyāna), and meditation (samādhi). The aim of these practices is to obtain concentration, the means towards it, and the winning by it of supernatural powers and the state of Kaivalya (emancipation, detachment of soul from matter).

Of these six main systems the aim is the same. According to Nyāya the true knowledge of 16 padārthas leads to Nishreyas (ultimate good), which is also the aim of the Vaiśeṣhika for which knowledge of six categories is required. The Moksha (release) of the Sāṃkhya is achieved by the knowledge of the 25 categories. The heavenly bliss (svarga-sukha) of the Pūrvaśāstra is achieved by the correct performance of the Vedic rites. And the Mukti (emancipation) of the

Vedānta is obtained through the true knowledge of God (Brahma).

The popular materialistic system is known as the Lokayata (of popular control) and Charvaka (of pleasant expression). The summaries of the system, made not by their adherents but by their opponents, ascribe the original authorship to the teacher of the infidels, Brihaspati. Thus in the estimation of the opponents, the followers of the system prove the birth of spirit from matter and that when the body is dissolved in death the spirit ceases to be. "They, therefore, commended only the pleasures of the body, ridiculing the doctrine of the reward to be reaped in heaven by those who made the Vedic sacrifice." This creed asserts that soul is not different from body and that the phenomena of the world are produced spontaneously without any agency. It admits four eternal principles (tattvas), viz. earth, air, fire and water. It rejects the sources (pramāṇas) of true knowledge except the sense perception. Thus it ignores not only the authority of the Veda but also the common sense view of inference (anumāna) and analogy (upamāna). Such pure materialistic creed could naturally claim no morality. Thus the end it aims to attain is not Moksha (release) or freedom from sorrow or imperfection even of the frail body but the transitory pleasure of eating and drinking at all cost because one can die to-morrow. It is illogical and shows a degraded mentality and lack of intelligence (buddhi) out of which, however, consciousness is stated to have been produced.

The philosophical categories of the Jainism followed the materialistic principles of the Vaiśeṣika school. Thus it adopts the atomic theory to explain the creation without the agency of a personal god. It is a dualism, not of individual souls and supreme soul, but of individuals (human actions) and matter (natural forces). Human ills are the result of former acts. The misery of existence is due to the ignorance of these facts. The salvation (moksha) or cure for sufferings lies in the prevention of new acts (karman) from encumbering our fundamental freedom and in the dissolution and elimination of the Karman accumulated in it. "The warmth of asceticism hastens the ripening of the results of Karman, and effects a cleansing which, returning each substance to its place, restores us to our native purity." The

ignorance which gives rise to miseries can be removed by a guide (guru) and the asceticism is achieved by observing four vows, viz. ahimsa (not to kill any life), asteya (not to steal), satya (to speak the truth), and brahmacharya (to observe chastity). According to some aparigraha (non-acceptance of unnecessary things) is the fifth vow. These two or three prohibitions and two actions lie within the moral powers of man. They do not depend upon destiny within our own nature (svabhava), nor upon an external arbitrary fate (niyati). As the traditional Jain philosophy could not be rationalized there was no serious development of metaphysics in it.

Buddhism is strictly a form of religion rather than a system of philosophy, its confused philosophical doctrines being derived from its religious dogmas. It consists of the implicit faith in the Buddha, the Sangha (community of his followers), and the Dharma (rule of conduct) which comprises the duties assigned by the Buddha to the householder lay disciples and to monks and nuns who live as ascetics in monasteries. The household disciples are required to observe the rules of not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to drink and not to have unlawful sexual intercourse; they are further required to provide for the maintenance of the clergy (monks and nuns), and to take part in their feasts. The ascetic disciples are required to abstain from sexual intercourse, to renounce all possessions except yellow robe and belt, a rice-bowl, a razor, a needle, and a strainer to prevent invisible life with water), and not to accept any money but to live on begging (cooked) food. The other practices (both for householders and ascetics) include the recitation of formulas that Buddha Dharma, and Sangha are true, and adoration of the relics of Buddha and Arhats, and pilgrimage to holy places and stapas which commemorate events of spiritual nature.

The method of religious practices gave rise to the two sects of Buddhists, the Hinayana and the Mahayana schools. The Hinayanists who came first worship the relics of the Buddha and not of the Bodhisattva, and have their canonical books written in Pali as in Ceylon, Siam, and Burma. The Mahayanists worship the relics of Buddha as preserved at Sanchi stupa and other places) as well as the images of Bodhisattvas and Buddha

(as preserved in Gandhara, Ajanta, Ellora, Amaravati, Sarnath, etc.) and their canonical treatises are generally found written in Sanskrit and translated into Chinese and Tibetan. The Hinayana sect follows the path of action (karma) and knowledge (jñāna) while the Mahayana sect follows the path of devotion (bhakti-marga). According to the Mahāvastu-Avadhana Buddhists were at first divided into three groups, viz the Bodhisattva-yana who aimed at bodhi or enlightenment for all; the pratyeka-Buddhayana who wanted personal salvation by renunciation and asceticism; and the Śrāvaka-yana who wanted to wait to hear from another Buddha for salvation. The Hinayana sects incorporated the first and second groups and the Mahayana the first group. The third group does not seem to exist. Hinayanists were known as non-idolators and the Mahayanists as idol-worshippers.

FORMS OF RELIGION

The science of theology, as noted above, treats of God and of man's duty to him. While the Natural theology is based on reasoning the Positive or Revealed theology deals with faith and belief rather than reasoning. Religion proper assumes the existence of some supernatural and almighty powers which can regulate human destiny. Thus is recognized man's obligation to those powers. It is further assumed that they can be propitiated by obedience, love and worship through prayer and through offerings. In the scheme of Hindu religion there are several elements capable of formative expression. They include the Mother goddess, trees, phalli, animals, stone objects, natural phenomena, cults of Vishnu, Śiva, Rama, Krishna, Śakti, practice of yoga, the doctrines of Bhakti and of Saṁsāra (metempsychosis).

The non-Aryans including the pre-Aryan Dravidians believed as Oppert says¹, "in the existence of one supreme spirit of Heaven with whom were associated and admitted to an equal, and eventually even superior

1 The Original Inhabitants of India, p. 574, as quoted by Sir John Marshall, in his Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 48.

share of power, the Goddess of Earth. Both ruled supreme over the good as well as the evil spirits who disturbed and tortured men, over men and the entire world. Associated with this doctrine was a belief in the transmigration of souls after death". The Mother goddesses whose figures have been discovered at Mohenjodaro, Beluchistan as well as in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt, and whose shrines found in every town and hamlet in modern India and worshipped as the "author of fertility, dispenser of life and giver of all things" are stated by Sir John Marshall¹ to have "originated in a matriarchal state of society". The earth Goddess Prithivi of the Vedic Aryans, personified as a deity in the Rigveda sometimes alone and sometimes in conjunction with the sky and invoked for her blessings was, however, 'a figure quite distinct from the Mother Goddess of the older peoples'.

The earliest form of religion in India and elsewhere was, however, Totemism. Totem implies a natural symbol, not an individual object but one of a class or species. It is considered as a symbol of life and energy. It is revealed in the world of vegetable and of the animal. Thus a particular variety of trees and of animals is worshipped with the offerings of flowers, sandal paste, etc. "To the primitive man the spectacle of the vegetable world bears witness to the polymorphism of nature more clearly than that of the animal kingdom".

TREE WORSHIP

The Totemists recognize the Creator in vegetation and the Animists in animal world. The cult worshippers on the other hand, make an image of the Creator as a symbolic object for practical worship by making the offerings of flowers, scents, etc., and uncooked dishes of fruits and sweets, and cooked dishes of fish and flesh of animals sacrificed to the idols. The idols may take the form of various trees and plants, animals and birds, phallus and yoni, stones, as well as the images of gods and goddesses, the demigods, the Buddha and Jina and their apostles.

¹ Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 51.

The animistic conception have distinguished the worship of trees from the time of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. After the Earth goddess as "the author of fertility, dispenser of life and giver of all things", the vegetation which supplies food predominantly appeared to the ancient mind as the more direct sustainer of life. Thus the tree representing plants, creepers, and vegetables also became the objects of worship like Vishnu, Śiva, and Śakti of later period. At Mohenjodaro and Harappa 'two forms of tree-worship is represented : one in which the tree itself is worshipped in its natural form, and the other in which the tree spirit is personified and endowed with human shape and human attributes'. The sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi and other places point to the same fact. The tree in the Mohenjodaro seal¹ (Plate xii, fig. 18) is represented by two branches, between which stands a nude figure with long hair, Trishula horns and armlets, and in front of which is the half-kneeling figure of a suppliant together with a line of seven standing figures behind it. From this Sir John Marshall suggests that the nude deity is a goddess and that the tree deities in India are usually female. Thus the development of tree spirit from the Earth-goddess is further strengthened. The tree-worship symbolizes two ideas of which one is implied by the "Tree of Life" as conventionalized at Mohenjodaro and Harappa as in Babylonia. And the other is represented by the "tree of Knowledge or Wisdom" under which the Buddha gained enlightenment and which is traceable in Mesopotamia. From its leaves the tree at Mohenjodaro appears to be the pipal (*figus religiosa*). The Bodhi tree at Gaya is of the same species. This tree is still an object of universal worship throughout India, "which no Hindu would willingly cut or injure, and beneath the shade of which he would be reluctant to tell an untruth". It is further believed that "every tree or plant has a personality and soul of its own and is treated as a conscious being. Thus it is usual before cutting a tree to ask the pardon of the indwelling spirit. The non-Aryan Gonds will not shake a tree at night or pluck its fruits for fear of disturbing the sleeping spirit. Brides are married to a tree before being united to their husbands. Trees are also

1 Mohenjo.Daro and the Indus Civilization, vol. 1. p. 51.

solemnly married to one another. The sacred Tulsi tree is annually wedded often with elaborate ritual and costly feasting to the Śaligrāma stones." The Akshaya Bata in the fort at Allahabad is venerated by millions of pilgrims throughout the year. Similarly the Siddha-Bata at Ujjain is worshipped. There are several other trees and plants also which are similarly respected. In poetic literature in Sanskrit mango and other trees are treated as protecting husbands of creepers. In fact the popularity of the tree-worship among the Hindus still continues.

Phallism:—After discovering the means of livelihood supplied by trees and plants, the wonder of creating life and producing children must have caught the imagination of the primitive people. Thus perhaps originated the worship of the Linga and Yoni, the Adam and Eve of Christian mythology. The Linga represents the male organ and the Yoni the female one. Both are the combined agency of procreation. This idea appears to have been at the root of animal worship which at some stage of its development degenerated into the form of animism.

Animism:—The animism, though implies the recognition of life and energy in animals as symbol of creation, the form of worship, as practised by the cannibals, Mundas, Santals, Kols, and by the aborigines of the Nicobar islands and Malacca, consists in the sacrifice of human beings and consumption of their hot blood and raw flesh. These bloody rites, it should be noted, are different from the animal sacrifices of the Vedas and of the post-Vedic Hinduism. In the Vedic period sacrifices were not performed mainly for the supply of blood and flesh for the consumption of the worshippers. But in the period of later Hinduism which reaches the present day the cooked flesh of sacrificed animals, especially of the goat, is eaten as sacred food.

Animal worship:—The engraving on seals and sealings as well as variety of small terracotta, faience, stone figurines and stone idols discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa furnish evidence of animal worship from B. C. 3000. The animals represented fall into three groups, *viz.*, mythical, semi-mythical, and natural species. The first group includes a human faced goat or ram or part goat or ram, part bull and part man, part ram or goat, part bull, and part elephant with

human countenance (Seals 378, 380, 381, Indus Valley Civilization, Vol. I), and stone images (Plate c, 7 and 9) semi-human, semi-bovine creature (Seal 357). The half human and half animal includes the Nāgas as represented by sealings (Plate cxviii, 11) where the cobra appears distinct from the suppliant in front. The second group comprises the unicorns (Seals 1,301, 537-41, 543, 544, 546, 548-57), two-horned animals (Seals 302, 303). The third group of real animals comprises the water buffalo, gaur or bison, humped bull or zebu, short-horned humpless bull, tiger, elephant, rhinoceros, crocodile, monkey and possibly dog, pig, goat, and bear, and the serpent Nāgas.

The buffalo is the vehicle (vahana) of Yama, the god of death. For this reason 'the pious Hindu will not use him for ploughing or carting. He is also a dark demon of the water. As the death-demon, the buffalo was slain by the Devi, whence arises her title of Mahisha-mardini and whence also has come down the common sacrifice of this animal to the Mother Goddess. Under the name of Bhainsisura buffalo is deified as a corn spirit to be propitiated when the grain is coming into ear. He is essentially a malignant type of deity.'

'The bull, humped and humpless, is closely associated with Śiva and is daily worshipped by his followers and once a year by Hindus of all sects. The liberation of a bull (Vrishotsarga) dedicated to Śiva and stamped with his trident at the time of the first Śrāddha ceremony of a deceased parent is believed to provide the deceased with a vehicle to the next world and hence is considered to be an act of the highest merit'.

'The tiger is the vehicle of Mother goddess who in one of her cruel aspects takes the shape of a tigress. Among the Gonds of Berar she is known as the Vaghai Devi, while among the Bhils there is a corresponding deity Vaghaika Kunwar (tiger Prince), to whom fruit, wine, and sheep are offered'.

'Among the Kāṇḍhs the Earth Mother assumes the form of an elephant. Amongst the Aryans the elephant appears as Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra. It is, however, as Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, the God of wisdom and enterprise, and the embodiment of good luck, that he is most widely worshipped'. This elephant god is the eldest son of Śiva by Parvati or of Parvati alone. In

all forms of Hindu worship Ganeśa is to be first worshipped. This cult is very popular in the South and in the North, especially among the traders. 'The rhinoceros and bison has disappeared from most parts of the country. But the Lhota Nāgas still bury a piece of rhinoceros bone near their fields to make the crops grow'.

The cult of Monkey god is also represented at Mahenjodaro. It is widespread and deeply rooted amongst non-Aryan tribes and is also worshipped by others in later post-Vedic times. 'As Hanuman he is figured in half human, half animal form, and his idols commonly guard the entrances to temples, forts, towns and villages'. He is associated with Rāma and venerated under the name of Mahāvira (great hero) as the rescuer of Sītā from Lankā (Ceylon) under the demon king Rāvaṇa.¹

The crocodile is the vehicle of the river Gangā and the Tortoise is of the Yamunā. Like fish they are protected in sacred tanks and in certain localities worshipped. There are two species of crocodile, viz., snubnosed *magar* and long nosed *ghariyal*, both are venerated and deified. The Sonjharas (gold washers) of the central Provinces catch a crocodile alive, worship it and then return it to the river, and certain wild tribes of Baroda worship a rough wooden image of the crocodile supported on two posts.

It is not traceable how and why some animals were regarded sacred and others were deified. Some animals like some trees are conceived of as personal deities and endowed, like human beings, with distinctive attributes and functions. "The animals which thus appear to be held sacred are those which are remarkable for their strength, courage, virility or swiftness."²

1 The dog, pig, sheep, bear and hare were never an object of actual worship. The dog is, however, deified by the dog sect of the Bhils and is respected by hunting and pastoral tribes. But in the eyes of Hindus generally it is an impure animal. Pig is regarded as the representative of the Goddess Gauri and its flesh is sacramentally eaten by Rajputs. The cult of sheep does not now extend beyond isolated group of shepherds. The bear and the hare are both endowed with magical virtues but are not objects of actual worship by any tribe or sect.

2 Sir John Marshall, vol. I. p. 74.

River worship :—"The worship of rivers is so world wide that it may well have originated independently among the pre-Aryans as well as among the Aryans". The Ganga and the Yamuna are both personified and on occasion worshipped. In fact all other rivers and seas also are regarded as sacred. Even the lakes, tanks and wells are venerated by the Hindus. The water of the sea, the river and the pool is holy in the eye of Hindus because water is able to clean from material and spiritual pollution. Every pious Hindu starts the day with bathing, preferably in a running stream, or failing that in a pool or tank or even in a private bath, since it is only by such bathing that the sins of the day can be washed away, while to bathe in a holy pool like that of Pushkara is to be absolved of every sin committed since birth. The holy river Ganga arrested in the matted hair of Śiva is stated to have sprung from the feet of Viṣṇu. The two fold sanctity has rendered the bath in its waters on numerous occasions a very great mass religious observance.

Vedic worship :—"The deification of rivers is a prominent feature of Vedic religion." The Vedic form consists in the worship of the natural phenomena such as the God of water (rivers), the God of heat and light (the Sun), the God of wind (maruts), etc., without which the life of creatures is impossible. Although the idol worship is not expressly mentioned animals were sacrificed to some symbols of God. God was, however, idolized by ascribing to him the multiplied number of human heads, eyes, arms, feet, etc. Śiva as Rudra and Viṣṇu are mentioned. But the conception of Triad and a number of other gods and goddesses were not recognized until the post-Vedic classical period.

In the Vedic form the efficacy was recognized of both words and offerings, in other words, of prayers and sacrifices in achieving material and spiritual good. "What the Aryans of early India sought to obtain in this way, was the good of this world subsistence, a minimum of well-being, even wealth, a full life, not cut off by premature death, and male descendants who alone were qualified to continue after father's death the offerings which supported the life of their ancestors."

Hinduism :—The modernized form of the Vedic religion is the Brahmanism, proper and popularly known as Hinduism. It includes all forms of faith, belief, and worship (other than those of the Muslims and the Christians). Brahmanism distinguished *dharman*, *karm*, *brahman*, and *ātman* as anonymous forces until they are transformed from neuter categories to masculine idols, representing more concrete divine forms. According to this the continuity of existence, efficacy of one's action, transmigration of soul and rebirth, and the heaven and the hell are fully developed.

The difference of this Hinduized Brahmanism from the Vedic form lies in the fact that it no longer confines itself to the prayers and sacrifices practised in the Vedic time. It has developed a new asceticism and devotion (yoga and bhakti). It claims to obtain the realization of the Absolute by a certain manner of living. The ascetic discipline originally meant the joining of oneself with the Absolute by the mastery of his vital functions. Later as Bhakti (devotion) it meant uniting "not to oneself but to a higher principle, in other words to be in communion with God." Thus the unity of the soul is acquired through union with God instead of realizing the Absolute; it aims at reaching it and being one with it. The stages of communion are aimed at by the four classes of devotees known as *Sāloky* (dwelling in the same locality as the deity), *Sāṃipya* (dwelling in the vicinity of the deity), *Sārāpya* (being in conformity with the deity), and *Sāyujya* (being united with the deity). These are the four kinds of salvation as aimed at by the four classes of devotees.

The different sectarian forms of Hinduism are distinguished in accordance with the chief deity of worship. In theory these sects are innumerable as the gods of worship are numberless. In practice, however, the sects known as Śāktas, Śāivas, and Vaiṣṇavas predominate and incorporate within these three sects all other subsections. All the functions and qualifications attributed to the trinity of Brahman or Prajāpati, the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer, are ascribed to whoever is chosen as the chief deity by the sectarian devotees. The followers of Brahman do not appear to exist as a sect. The devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu exist in large numbers. There is also a large sect of devotees known as Śāktas whose chief

deity of worship is Śakti or the female energy representing the original Mother Goddess and later as the consort of Śiva or Viṣṇu.

Saktism.—The Śāktas are the worshippers of the Śakti, the female divinity. They are found in two classes. The real Śāktas in overwhelming majority are grouped as Dakṣiṇācharis, and the degraded group represented by a small number and limited to a particular locality are known as the Vāmācharis. The worship of the latter group is licentious and is known as a degraded form of Tantrika whose five requisites comprise wine (madya), flesh (māṃsa), fish (matsya), parched grain or mystic gesticulation (mudrā), and woman (maithuna).¹ This degraded form was confined to a limited part of Bengal, Orissa and other provinces, and appears to have been derived from the immoral practice of the later Buddhist monks and nuns.

The goddess Śakti is personified in two fold nature, viz., gentle and fierce. One of the gentle forms representing in a realistic sense the Mother Goddess is figured as Shashthi with a number of children on her lap and arms, and has some affinity with the Grecian goddess Madonna. Umā and Gauri are gentle forms of the Śakti of Śiva. Durgā and Kālī are fierce forms. As the great goddess (Mahādevī) she has a great variety of names, referable to her various forms, attributes, and actions. In her milder form she is Umā, light, a type of beauty; Gauri, white or brilliant; Pārvatī, maid of the mountain; and Jagan-mātā, Mother goddess of the universe. In her terrible form she is Durgā, inaccessible, worshipped especially in autumn and spring; Kālī or Śyāma worshipped specially in new-moon night in October-November; Chāṇḍī, the fierce, and Bhairavī the terrible, worshipped on particular occasions; Jagat-dhātṛī, fosterer of the world; Tārā, deliverer, Mashisha-mardini, the destroyer of the demon buffalo; Chinna-mastakā, headless fury, and many others. In all these forms she fought and killed many demons who disturbed the peace of the world. These terrible forms are popular for worship which is offered with or without animal

1 Madyaṁ māṁsaṁ cha mīṣaṁ cha mudrā maithunam eva cha
Ete pañcha makaraḥ syur mokṣhādā hi yuge yuge.

sacrifices. All these mild and fierce forms are treated as the Śaktis (consorts) of Śiva.

Vishnu's Śakti is represented by Lakshmi or Sri, the goddess of wealth and prosperity whose worship in every household in Bengal in particular is regularly performed especially by the ladies. Krishna's Śakti Rādhā is popular among the Vaishnavas.

Another popular goddess is Brahma's Śakti known as Brāhmāni, Sarasvatī, Bhārati, Putkari, Śārādā, and Vāgīśvari. Sarasvatī retains in the Vedas the derivative meaning of 'watery', and implies a famous river of that name. As the river goddess she is lauded for the fertilising and purifying powers of her waters, and the bestower of fertility, fatness, and wealth. The Brāhmaṇas and the Epics recognized the other derivative meanings of Sarasvatī, elegant, and lauded her as the goddess of speech which is also implied by the names, Bhārati and Vāgīśvari. In this form she is represented as of a white complexion, graceful figure, sitting on a lotus and holding a lute and a book. Her annual worship is celebrated at the advent of the spring and is very popular among the Bengali students.

Saivism:—The name Śiva is unknown to the Vedas. Rudra is used in the Rīgveda for Agni, and Maruts are his sons. He is lauded as the lord of sacrifices and songs, the best and most bountiful of gods, the lord of nourishment who grants prosperity and welfare to cows, horses, sheep, men and women, drives away diseases, dispenses remedies, and removes sin. He is also the wielder of the thunderbolt, bearer of bow and arrows, destructive and fierce. In the Yajurveda in a prayer called Śatarudriya he is described as auspicious, not terrible, first divine physician, blue-necked and red-coloured, and Tryambaka, the sweet scented increaser of prosperity. In the Atharvaveda he is still the protector of cattle, but his character is fierce; he is prayed not to assail mankind with consumption, poison, or celestial fire. In the Brāhmaṇas he is given eight more attributes implied by the eight epithets of Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugraśiva, Mahāśiva, Rudra, Iśāna and Aśāni. In the Upanishads he is the Mahāśvara and Mahāśiva (great god), he is Brāhmā (creator), Viṣṇu (preserver), and Śiva (destroyer), all pervading, undecaying, eternal, supreme Lord, consort of Uma. Knowing him, a man overpasses death, there is no

other way to liberation. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* he is a great personal god, rather than a supreme divinity. In the *Mahābhārata* also he is Mahādeva, all-pervading god, the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, whom all the gods including Brahmā and the Piśachas worship. The *Purāṇas* distinctly assert the supremacy of their particular divinity, Śiva or Viṣṇu, and amplify the allusions of older writings into numberless legends and stories for the glorification of their favourite god.

Rudra of the Vedas has thus developed into the great and powerful god Śiva. He is worshipped in two forms. Śiva is represented as a fair man with five faces and four arms, seated in profound thought, bearing a third eye on the forehead, surmounted by the moon's crescent, and matted locks gathered up into a horn-like coil which contains a symbol of the Ganga. A necklace of skulls hangs round his neck, and he puts on a garment of skin of a tiger, a deer or an elephant. He is generally accompanied by his bull Nandi.

Although as Rudra or Mahākālā he is the destroying and dissolving power, he is auspicious (Śiva Śankara) because the destruction implies reproduction. As the reproductive power he is represented by his symbol, the Linga or phallus. It is under this form alone combined with the Yoni representing his Śakti (female energy) that he is everywhere worshipped, although the twelve places containing the Jyotir Linga are the most famous. The popularity of the phallus worship lies in the fact that the image of stone may be bathed, oiled and worshipped directly with flowers, scents, dishes, jewelleries, etc., by the worshippers themselves (excepting some places in south India only). On special occasions huge congregations celebrate religious festivals of Śiva.

Vaiṣṇavism :—Viṣṇu in the *Rigveda* is the manifestation of the solar energy and is described as striding through the seven regions of the universe in three steps which represent the three manifestations of light, viz., fire, lightning and the sun, also the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun. Thus he is all pervading (from root *vish* to pervade), and is called the 'unconquerable preserver.' In the *Brahmaṇas* Viṣṇu acquires new attributes which are illustrated by new legends. In the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* he is

the Prajapati (creator) and the embodiment of Sattva-guna, the quality of mercy and goodness, which displays itself as the preserving power, the self-existent, all pervading spirit. He is associated with the watery element which spread everywhere before the creation of the world. In this character he is Nārāyaṇa (moving in waters), and is represented in human form slumbering on the serpent Śeṣha floating on waters during the temporary annihilation of the world. He is figured in various forms. Sometimes he is represented as seated on a lotus with Lakṣmī or Śrī beside him; sometimes reclining on the serpent Śeṣha, and at other times as riding on his vehical, Garuḍa bird. He has a thousand names indicating his various forms and attributes.

His worshippers recognize in him the supreme Being from whom all things emanate. As such he has three conditions (avastha). First as Brahmā the active creator, who is represented as springing from a lotus which grew from Viṣṇu's navel while he was sleeping afloat upon the waters; secondly as Śiva or Rudra the destructive power, who (according to the Mahābhārata) sprang from his forehead; and thirdly as Viṣṇu himself, the preserver, in several incarnate forms which imply the gradual development of humanity both physically and intellectually. The forms of Viṣṇu in his various incarnations imply the stages of development of humanity both physically and intellectually. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa there were twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu, of which ten are prominent and usually recognized in the Mahābhārata, viz., fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Paraśurama, Rāmachandra, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, and Kalki. The first, fish incarnation, is recognized by geologists also. When the ethereal substance by its own movement was converted into water, the first creature appeared as fish. It is allegorically stated that in this form the Creator (Prajapati Viṣṇu) turned into a ship in order to protect from the deluge Manu, the father of man. The fish as the first created being has its limitation in stature and movement. It is the shortest animal in height and can move and live only in water. The second incarnation, tortoise, is a more forceful animal, taller and bigger in size, and capable of moving and living both in water and land. In this form Prajapati Viṣṇu

created offsprings. The third, boar, is a higher creature with greater facility of movement, strength and intelligence. In this form Prajapati Vishnu raised the earth out of the boundless waters; this geologically means the formation of the earth out of waters. The fourth, man-lion, is part animal and part man. It is taller, stronger and more intelligent than boar; but it still retained the beastly feature but shows a little human character. In this combined form of man and beast Vishnu delivered the world from the tyranny of a demon, Hiranya-Kasipu. Shorn of allegory it means that man started conquering over the beast. Then came the short man, dwarf, with human intelligence but having the physical disability. In this form Vishnu subdued the demon Bali and imprisoned him in the netherland. This implies the ability of man in conquering the sea and discovering the treasure thereunder. In the next incarnation, Parasurama, the normal height of man was attained; but he is still a primitive man, working in forests with an axe in hand. It, however, implies the supremacy of the brain power of the Brahmans over the mere physical force of the Kshatriyas as the Brahman Parasurama defeated in battles the host of Kshatriyas several times. The seventh incarnation of Vishnu represented by Ramachandra of Ayodhya reputed as the ideal king and the great hero who killed the king of demons, Ravana, and destroyed his kingdom of Lanka (Ceylon). But the human weakness of arrogance and self-conceit still persists and Rama of Ayodhya renounced the throne on sentimental grounds and banished Sita and destroyed the empire. But his heroism is celebrated by the two great festivals, Ramalila in October and Rama Navami in April. The next incarnation is represented by Krishna of Mathura who was the romantic lover, the fighter, the diplomat and the great ambassador. But he was unsuccessful as ruler, and failed to establish the reign of justice and destroyed himself together with his clan. Krishna is looked upon as a fuller manifestation of Vishnu and is the object of a widely extended and very popular worship. His memory is celebrated by a number of national annual festivals like the Jhuli, the swing festival at rainy season; Janmashtami, his birth festival in August; Rasalila, his sportive dance with the cowherd girls, Dolayatra in spring (April) when the figures of young Krishna and his girl, Radha,

are swang in a swing, and Snāyatra in summer (June) when Krishna takes sportive sea-bath along with his girl friends.

The ninth incarnation is represented by the Buddha, the most enlightened, who sacrificed his domestic happiness and renounced the kingdom in order to discover a remedy for the ills and evils which are incidental in human life. This incarnation aimed at serving the masses and establishing a popular religion. But it failed because it became too much sectarian and its high principles did not allow the freedom of thought and action prescribed in the Vedas and approved by the popular Hinduism.

The last incarnation, Kalki, is yet to come mounted on a white horse and wielding a drawn sword as destroyer of the wicked. The purpose of this incarnation is the final destruction of the wicked and the selfish, the renovation of the creation, and the restoration of purity in thought, word, and action. It aims at the establishment of a peaceful world where there will be no want and privation for anybody, where everybody will have equal facilities to develop his natural gifts and derive the benefit of individual liberty within the discipline and sovereignty of a well organised state.

The universal and national character of the Vishnu worship is shown by the four ends of India where the main abodes (chaturdhama) of Vishnu are situated, viz., Jagannātha of Puri in the east, Badrinātha on the Himalayas in the north, Dvarakānātha on the sea-coast of Gujarat in the west, and Ramesvara on the sea-coast, south of Madras.

The inclusion of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu is a significant fact. Apart from the earlier rivalry between Brahmanism and Buddhism, in the Buddha incarnation the highest development of Hinduism is indicated. Buddha is reputed to have discovered remedies to overcome the pains of death, disease and infirmity of old age, the evils from which every living individual suffers. Thus this form of Hinduism became popular among the masses. Although the Hinduism did not permit conversion it did not hesitate to incorporate Buddhism. In fact Hinduism during the Muslim period introduced the worship of certain Muslim saints like Satyapir in its own way. The result has been that the Hindus by

their extreme tolerance of other beliefs and other ways than their own avoided the conflicts that have so often torn the society assunder and managed to maintain some kind of equilibrium. By allowing within the larger frame work considerable freedom to live the life of their choice, they showed the wisdom of an old and experienced race.' The last incarnation or the new world that is expected to emerge out of the present global turmoil will be the one that is expected to supply ways and means to remove the present world conditions, the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, not only as individuals but also as the organized races, nations, and states. The remedies when discovered will restore the natural purity of humanity in thought, word, and action, which are the direct outcome of the sincere practice of a true religion as represented by Hinduism.

It should be noted that 'religion is closely associated with ritualistic practices and dogmatic beliefs' as stated by Pandit Nehru in his *Discovery of India*. 'Behind it, however, lies a method of approach to life's problems which is not that of science. Religion deals with the regions of human experience uncharted by the scientific positive knowledge of the day. It is an extension of the known and chartered region, though the methods of science and religion are utterly unlike each other, and to a large extent they deal with different kinds of media. It is obvious that there is a vast unknown region all around us, and science with its magnificent achievements knows little enough about it. Besides the normal methods of science, its dealings with the visible world and the processes of life are not wholly adapted to the physical, the artistic, the spiritual, and other elements of the invisible world. Life does not consist entirely of what we see and hear and feel, the visible world, which is undergoing change in time and space. It is continually touching on invisible world of other and possibly more stable or equally changeable elements. No thinking person can ignore this invisible world. Science does not tell us much or anything about the purpose of life. It is obvious that religion had supplied some deeply felt inner need of human nature, and that the vast majority of people all over the world could not do without some form of religious belief. It had produced

many fine types of men and women, as well as bigoted, narrow minded, cruel tyrants. It had given a set of values to human life and is still the foundation of morality and ethics.'

It is time to recognise that 'man's outlook has become unbalanced,' as declared by another great thinker of the present age, Marquis of Zetland, in his very thoughtful article *Homo Sapiens*, 'because his progress on the physical plane has outstripped his advance along the moral and spiritual planes. It is, however, a fatal mistake to regard 'civilization as a by-product of economic progress whereas the essence of civilization is a restraint imposed by divine law or by reason, upon the instincts of man. This evil can be redressed if it be realised that for his moral and spiritual well being man must turn back once more to the simple truths taught him in the Ganges valley and in Palestine long centuries ago. The chances of the survival of human civilization may be estimated not by mere economic progress but by the consciousness of the spiritual and moral issues involved in the planning of the new world which is hoped to rise from the ashes of the old. Among the rising generation it is necessary to generate a movement of the mind eager for the truth and a feeling after God if haply they may find him. For that purpose there must be given a clearly defined place for religious education in the life and work of the schools, colleges, universities and various student and youth associations.'

CHAPTER V

BASIC ARTS

The state and the church remained separated in ancient India, the latter not assuming any political power. The state did not interfere with the individual freedom of religious thought. Therefore there grew up all sorts and forms of religions of worship. The intensely spiritual nature of the Hindus is, however, reflected more expressly in both private and public temples and the institutions connected therewith, *viz.*, schools and colleges, libraries, separate debating halls, theatres for enacting dramas and performing dancing and other music, alms-houses for free distribution of food and residence, medicine and treatment of ailments to the needy persons and devotees. The temple was in fact the centre of all public and healthy activities. Temples were a sort of assembly and union. Around the temple developed both the village and city lives. The state delegated its power of administration to the temple authorities of important educational institutions and organisation of charities, not only to the poor but also to the religious mendicants who supplied moral education to the people and never worked otherwise to earn their livelihood. The king or the head of the state was thus relieved of a great responsibility of educating, feeding and clothing, and even housing the deserving people. But he had to provide funds liberally for the building up and maintenance of all these important institutions. Non-recurring grant of huge sum appears to have been made for the erection and development of such institutions and permanent land grants were made for their repairs, upkeep and maintenance. And above all fully autonomous power was given to the managing persons or bodies of these institutions. It looks as if quite independent states were allowed to grow within the sovereign state. The germ of autonomous government within the sovereignty of the state is indicated by the temple government. The subordinate states which developed during the Buddhist and the epic period starting from 1000 B. C. were based upon the institution of temple administration. Similarly from the temple came out the independent

alms-houses and Dharmashalas which still continue to provide free lodgings with or without boarding for pilgrims and secular travellers. Thus the hospitals and charitable dispensaries both for man and beast came into being. Similarly independent universities came into being at Taxila in North west, Valabhi in Kathiawar, Ujjain in Central India, Nalanda and Vikramasila in Bihar, Odantapura in Bengal and Amaravati in the south. Shelter and watering places on public road were made as stated in the inscriptions of king Asoka and others. Colleges and schools for general and technical studies of medicine, surgery, engineering, agriculture etc., were also established. Taxila specialized in medicine and surgery. Apart from religious and philosophical subjects secular and practical subjects were also taught at Nalanda. There was a post graduate school of art and a department for architecture, a medical school, an agricultural department with dairy farming and cattle breeding. The life of the university was one of animated debates and discussions, and attracted students from China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, Mongolia and Bokhara. The spread of Indian culture abroad was largely the work of scholars from Nalanda as admitted by Nehru in his *Discovery of India*. There were separate musical halls and theatres also at these places, and several other centres.

From the time of Gautama Buddha the great institution of monastery for monks and nuns came into being with the most elaborate rules of administration and the most methodical bodies of management. The Buddhist monks in Burma known as Fungis and living on public charity, still continue to supply free primary education, resulting in the cent per cent literacy of the Burmans of to-day. Countries like India on the other hand have been shirking the responsibility for providing free minimum education to all the population as a birth right on the ground of the want of funds. The Vihara or Monastery, both with the Buddhists and Jains, was a hall where the monks met; afterwards these halls came to be used as temples and became the centres of monastic establishments. Like the Chaityas they resemble very closely the corresponding institutions among Christians. In the earlier ages they were accompanied by, but later detached from, the Chaityas or churches. In later times they were furnished with

chapels in which the service could be performed independently of the Chaitya halls. The Chaitya halls at Barabar 16 miles north of Gaya bear Asoka's inscriptions of about 250 B. C. Chaitya halls at Lomas Rishi preserves the general feature. More interesting examples exist in western and central India at Bhaja, Bidisa, Nasik, Karle¹, Ajanta (caves no. 10, 19 and 26), Ellora (Viswakarma cave), Junnar (Manmoda) cave and at Kanheri.

The well known examples of monastery comprising a group of apartments for monks and thus known as Sangharama exist at Ajanta (caves no. 2, 11, 16, 17), Bagh (cave no. 3), Salsatte, Bombay (Darbar cave), Nasik (Nahapana Vihara); at the south end of Ellora group; at Aurangabad, Khuda and other places; and at Jamalgarhi, Takhti-Bahai and Sha-Dheri. The small but rich community of the Jains are still famous for their charity homes, free schools for boys and girls and the generous endowments for their temples and monks.

The Jains, like the Buddhists, built Bhikshu-grihas or the cave-dwellings, that is, monasteries for their recluses from about 2nd century B. C. The best examples still exist at Udayagiri (Tiger cave), at Ellora (Indra Sabha), Lakkundi, Pulitana (Satrunjaya hill); Mount Abu (temple of Vimala and of Tejahpala); at Girnar (temple of Neminatha); ruins at Parswanath Hill; at Ranpur in Jodhpur; at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, the Ghantai and Adinath temple; and at Chitor (the tower of Victory of Rana Khumbha). In south India there are beautiful examples at Sravana Belgola (Bastis), at Mudabidri (temple and tombs of priests), at Guruvayankeri (Pavilion). The modern Jain edifices are illustrated by the temple at Sonagarh in Bundelkhand², and Hathisingh temple at Ahmedabad. There are traces of several Jain temples being converted into Muhammedan mosques of which the examples are the Adhai-din-ka Jhopra at Ajmer, Qutab near Delhi, at Kanauj, Dhar, and many other places.

The great public bath at Mohenjodaro of about 3,000 B. C. to which a reference has been already made, is a tank or bath of secular and religious character. How that was built we do not know. But similar tanks

1 See plate Appended at the end.

2 See plate from Fergusson Woodcut 297, Vol. II, p. 63.

separated from the temple precinct were built from time immemorial till nineteenth century by the state and private personages and it has solved a great problem of water supply in cities and countryside alike. The great lake at Junagarh originally built by the emperor Chandragupta Maurya and subsequently repaired by kings Asoka, Rudradaman, and Skandagupta served also for irrigation, agricultural and other purposes, and retained the fertility of the Gujerat desert. King Asoka had wells dug and trees planted on the road side also. Several names of the kings of the Pala dynasty of the tenth century and the Sena dynasty of the twelfth century are associated with hundred of such tanks in Bihar and Bengal. Hardly there is any long road in U. P. and other provinces which is not adorned with such tanks at easy distance which are still supplying water to travelling public and local beasts. The road of some hundred miles between Tippera Hill State and Chittagong has been provided with tanks of even half a mile in length and at some four to eight mile distance at enormous cost. They still supply unlimited quantity of naturally filtered and pure water which no municipalities of present day have been able to do anywhere in India. References to regularly built altars during the period of the Vedas have been already quoted. But the details are lacking regarding the state share in their construction and the management thereof. Similar references to temples of scientific construction and details have been quoted from the epics also. The Rāmāyana (L. 5, 10-15) refers to the temple together with their associated assembly halls, public gardens, and charitable almshouses. The Mahābhārata refers to several assembly halls and one royal council including lodgings for royal guests. The Buddhist texts refer frequently as stated above to rock-cut temples of which some three thousand still exist including those at Ajanta, Ellora, Nasik, Badami, Bagh, Beda, Bengal, Bihar, Bhaja, Dhamnan, Guntalle, Junagarh, Junnar, Kalugumalai, Kanhari, Karhad, Karle, Kholvi, Kondave, Kondivte, Orissa, Pitakhora, Sana and Talaja. Monasteries are associated with most of the rock-cut temples but there are independent monasteries also such as in Burma, Tibet, Gandhara and Peking. Stupas and Chaitya halls at Sarnath, Bharhut and specially at Sanchi which show how easily they could be built by public contribution, as is indicated by

inscribed stone slabs. The regular Bhuddhist temples at Barobudar and other places show the extent of money and labour spent on its construction apparently by state contribution.

The finest example of a purely Hindu temple is supplied by the Lingaraja (Śiva shrine) at Bhuvaneśwara which is traditionally ascribed to a king Lalitendra Kesari of 7th century A. D. The original temple like almost all those in Orissa consisted only of a Vimāna or tower (Baradewal) and a porch or Jagamohan; the Nāṭa-maṇḍapa or music hall and the Bhoga-maṇḍapa or dining hall were added about the 12th century, while the kings of the Somavamśa of Śaiva faith built the Śiva temples at Bhuvaneśwara, the kings of the Gangavamśa of Vaiṣṇava faith who superseded about 1078 A. D. built the stupendous edifice at Puri known as the temple of Jagannath. It is ascribed to king Anantavarma Chola Gaṅgadeva (1100 A. D.). It is enclosed by a double wall with four openings and it is also composed of the Vimāna tower of 142 ft. in height, the Jagamohan or porch of 155 ft east and west, Nāṭa-maṇḍira or music hall and the Bhoga-maṇḍapa or dining hall jointly making the whole length of the temple about 300 ft. and numberless smaller shrines, halls for debate, for teaching, for congregation, open sheds for distribution of cooked food, and cells for residence. The sun temple at Konarak, 19 miles north east of Puri, described in great detail by Abul Fazl, is ascribed to Raja Narasingha deva I (1238-1264 A. D.). It comprises the same four parts of the Orissa temple, viz., tower, porch, music and dining halls.¹

1 See Appended Plate. There are several other temples in Orissa. Fergusson has put in 650-1000 A.D. five temples, viz., Paraśu Rameśwara, Sireśwara, Kapalini, Uttareśwara and Someśwara at Mukhalin-gam. Between 900-1000 A.D. are placed eleven temples, viz., Sari Deula, Mukteśwara, Lingaraja at Bhuvaneśwara, Kedareśwara, Siddheśwara, Bhagavati, Someśwara, Brahmeśwara, Mukhalingeśwara, Viraja and Varahanatha at Jajpur, and Markandeśwara at Puri. In the 11th century are dated five temples, viz., Nakeśwara, Bhaskareśwara, Rajarani, Chitrakarṇi, and Kapileśwara. In the 12th century are placed five temples, viz., Ramewara, Yameśwara, Maistreśwara, Jagannatha temple at Puri, and Megheśwara. And in the 13th century are placed another five temples, viz., Vasudeva temple, Konarak Sun temple, Nāṭa-maṇḍapa of Lingaraja at Bhuvaneśwara, Viṣṇu temple at Madap in Konarak district and Gopinatha temple at Remura.

Most of these were built by the Pala rulers and some might have been erected by private persons.

Owing to the vandalism of the Muslim invaders the early temples of northern India have disappeared. At Benares, the most sacred place of the Hindus, the present temple of Viśwanatha was built in the 18th century to replace the original Kīrti Viśvēśwara which was thrown down and desecrated by Aurangzeb in 1659 in order to erect on the most sacred spot of the Hindus his mosque whose tall minarets till lately reared their heads in insult over all the Hindu and Buddhist buildings at Benares and Sarnath. Here all the alms houses, Dharma-shalas, Music halls, etc., are completely detached from the temples. At Mathura, Brindāvan, Govardhan, etc., a few Hindu temples still exist. The Krishna cult developed in Braja Bhāmi, especially at Brindāvan in Mathura district. But its temples built both by the kings as well as by Goswami community of Bengal met with the same fate as the temples in Orissa and at Benares. The famous Govindadeva temple at Brindāvan was built in 1590 A. D. by the celebrated Man Singh of Ambar and Jaipur (1522-1615). Its Śikhara was thrown down by Aurangzeb who erected on the roof an Ibadat-gah or a place for Muslim prayer. The antarala or the inner maṇḍapa of the original temple was afterwards converted into a shrine, the celler having been destroyed along with the Śikhara. On each side of the original shrine are two side chapels. About the same time was built the similar vaulted Harideva temple at Govardhan by Raja Bhagawandas of Amber. The disciples of Chaitanya known as Goswamis who settled at Brindāvan, built about 1627 A. D. three other famous temples dedicated to Krishna under the names of Madan Mohan, Gopinath and Jugal Kishore. Ajmer and mount Abu (Arbuda) are the two places in Rajputana which supply examples of Hindu and Jain temples. At Ajmer the original Brahmanical temples were converted into Jain temples. One of the latter now exists in the form of a mosque known as the Arhaidin ka Jhopra containing all the auxiliary institutions of temples, viz., rest house, alms house, etc. The two wonderful marble temples of mount Abu are stated to have been built by Tejapala and Vastupala in 1230 A. D. and by Vimala in 1031 A. D. at a fabulous cost of some twenty-one crores of rupees as stated in an inscription. Excepting fifty-two cells for Jain deities in the former temple there is no other public institutions attached to them.

Like the temples in Orissa and in Northern India, Rajputana and Gujerat temples in Central India also supply instances of the public life being centred round temples. The desecrated temple at Baroli situated not far from the falls of the Chambal has a detached porch known as marriage pavilion which was erected for the marriage of a Huna prince to a Rajput bride between the 9th and 10th century A. D. In Gwalior there were some interesting examples. The governor of the fort built in 875 A. D. the Chaturbhuja Vishnu temple. In the fort there is the Sas Bahu really the Padmanabha temple built by the ruler himself in 1093. In the same place an older temple was used as a mosque as happened at Benares. The example of a temple having been built by a guild is supplied by the Teli-kamandir which was built by the oilmen. About 150 miles south east from Gwalior is the old capital of the Chandella kings, known as Khajuraho which, like Bhuvaneswara in Orissa are still adorned with some thirty important temples of which twenty-eight excluding the two temples of Chaushath Jogini and Ganthai, were erected by the Chandella princes between 950 and 1050. They are dedicated in almost equal number to the Śaiva, Vaishṇava, and Jaina deities. In each group there is one or more larger temples with smaller ones scattered about. The Śaiva group is dedicated to Khadarya Mahadeva and the Vaishṇava group to the Chaturbhuja and Ramachandra. The combination shows clearly the toleration or community of feeling. The erection in the 12th century of the large Gondeśwara temple at Junnar about 18 miles from Nasik is ascribed to a petty king of the Yadava dynasty. Like Khajuraho Nagda or Nagahrada contains groups of Śiva, Vishnu and Jain temples. The finest here are the two Vaishṇava temples known as Sas-Bahu built in the 12th century. The smaller Mahadeva temple built about the same time contains the public meeting halls in front of the Jain temple. One dedicated to Parśwanatha was built in 1429 and another called Adbudhaji's temple was erected in 1437 in the reign of king Kumbhakarna. At Chitorgarh the famous Mira Bai and her husband Rana Kumbha of Chitor (1418-1468) built two Vishnu temples, the king's temple being the smaller one and showing thereby that there was even a competition between husbands and wives in their contributions towards temples. Again Rana Kumbha although an

orthodox Hindu is well known as a patron of the Jains and must have contributed largely in the erection of the Jain temples at Ranpur and the Kirti Stambha or victory pillar at Chitor.

As in Bengal, there is hardly any Hindu temple left in Gujerat and Malwa to illustrate the similar construction, composition and management. In the Punjab the golden temple at Amritsar has, however, survived the Muslim vandalism. But the golden temple in the sacred tank is no longer an idol shrine but a monotheistic place of prayer. Its construction was started by the fourth Sikh Guru Ramdas and was completed by his successor Arjun. But Ahmed Sha Abdali blew this Hara-mandira (temple of Siva) in 1761. It was rebuilt in 1766. In 1802 Ranjit Singh spent large sums on it in ornamenting its walls with marbles from Jahangir's tomb and roofing it with copper gilt. The Sikhs never required and built many temples. Their reading of the Granth Saheb and prayer was performed individually till recently and therefore no place for congregation was required.

Temples in Kashmir surmounted by four roofs met with the same fate. Only the remnants of the wonderful structures remain. The temple of Martanda situated 5 miles out of the old capital Islāmābād compares well in beauty and magnificence to 'Palmyra or Thebes or other wonderful groups of ruins of the old world.' The court-yard 220 ft. by 142 ft. which is a more remarkable object than the temple itself was no doubt the place of meeting and union of all the people. As stated in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana this wonderful temple of Martanda with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure was built by King Lalitaditya Muktapida (725-760). Sikandar Shah Bhutsikan (1393-1416) destroyed the image and wrecked the temple itself. The court, however, had been used as a fortification in Jayasimha's reign (1128-1149). The next group of temple ruins in Kashmir are found at Avantipur or Vantipor on the right bank of Jhelam half way between Srinagar and Islāmābād. All these were erected during the reign of Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty (855-883). At Śankarapura or modern Patan between Srinagar and Beramula Śankaravarman (883-902), son and successor of Avantivarman, and his queen Srigandha erected two Śiva temples which

still exist, though corridors have disappeared. The temple at Buniar is nearly perfect and gives a very fair idea of the Kashmir temples¹. Remains of temples at Panduthun, Payer and Malot in the salt Range are pleasing though not magnificent.

The two temples in the Kangra valley illustrate efforts of private individuals and merchants in erecting such monuments which were ultimately taken up by the state for repair and maintenance. Two inscriptions², in the larger temple dedicated to Vaidyanatha Śiva and situated in Kirāgrāma about 25 miles east of Kangra, record that it was built by two brothers, Manyuka and Ahuka, wealthy merchants under Lakshmana Chandra, brother-in-law of Jayachandra, king of Jalandhara or Trigarta in 1204. But in 1786 it underwent a thorough repair by Rājā Sansarachandra II. It consists of a hall, 20 ft. square inside, with four round pillars of the Hindu-Corinthian order supporting the roof and shrine for the phallus of Śiva, 8 ft. square, separated from the hall by a small antechamber. The second temple of Siddhanatha at the east end of the town dedicated probably to the Sun also consists of a four-pillared hall and a shrine 33 ft. by 20 ft. and with a Śikhara or spire about 35 ft. in height.

Unlike in Kashmir where a Buddhist period developed by the 8th century, in Nepal we find the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist religions existing side by side at the present day. The towns of Kathmandu Patan, and Bhatgaon are crowded with sacred edifices of the three sects and it is rightly stated that 'in Nepal there are more temples than houses and more idols than men' though the structures are all modern and the people are too poor to indulge in such magnificence as is found on the plains. King Asoka, who is stated to have visited the valley, built five Chaityas, one in the centre of Patan and the others at the four cardinal points round it, which still exist. They are not *stupas* because they do not contain relics of the Buddha but they are of the same shape being hemispherical mound of earth covered by brick and surrounded by a plinth of brick which serves as a circular path. Four chapels are placed

1 See Plate from Fergusson Wood Cut 151, vol. II p. 266.

2 Translated in Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, pp. 97-118; vol. II, p. 482; vol. V, Appendix, p. 78; Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 154.

round the dome, each containing the image of Buddha at four cardinal points. The two most important Buddhist monuments in Nepal are, however, Svayambhunatha and Bodhnatha¹, the former at Kathmandu was built by Raja Pratāpamalla in the 17th century and the latter at Bodhanatha is ascribed to King Mahādeva of the 6th century, as also to a Tibetan Lama named Khasa of later date. The most characteristic Nepalese temples of several storeys, resembling those of Burma and China, are usually dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu. But the one at Patan is dedicated to Mahābuddha and Sakyamuni occupies the basal floor, Amitabha the second storey, a Chaitya, the third, a relic shrine (dharma-dhātu-maṇḍala), the fourth, a Vajra-dhātu-maṇḍala, and the fifth or apex which externally consists of a jewel-headed Chaitya. It was built in the 16th century by Abhaya-raja, a Buddhist Newar, during the reign of Amara Malla after the model of Bodh Gaya which he had visited with his family. One of the most elegant Hindu temples of the sloping roof class is the Bhawani temple at Bhatgaon which was built in five storeys on a pyramid of five platforms in 1703 by Bhupatindra-malla to enshrine a secret Tantrik goddess not allowed to be seen to this day². The other of the same class but of two storeys is the Mahādeva temple at Patan on the left of which stands the beautiful temple of Kṛṣṇa with its spire and clustering pavilions and tall Śikhara or pīr of the Bengal type. About 3 miles east from Kathmandu on the bank of the Bagmati stream was built in the 17th century by some king the famous Paśupati Śiva temple which is as sacred as the Viśvanātha temple at Benares. But it is more notable for the little chapels close by it which are memorials of the Satis or widows burnt along with the bodies of their dead husbands. In Nepal the king who is treated as an incarnation of God and is worshipped, does not take part in the administration, the prime minister being the sole ruler.

In Tibet also Buddhism exists in inexplicable combination with Śaivism and demon worship. But

1 See plate from Fergusson's Woodcut 155, p. 278, Vol. I).

2 See plate from photograph 157, Fergusson vol I, p. 281.



Devi Bhavani Temple, Bhatgaon, Nepal



Interior of cave temple at Karle



Corridor, Angkor Vat (temple), Cambodia



Shwe Dagon Pagoda, square temple, at Rangoon

the Tibetan monasteries consisting of long streets of cells surrounding small courtyards, three or four on each side illustrate more than anywhere else the residential rather than spiritual nature of such institutions. It is stated (A. S. B. 1891, p. 278) that the Debung Lamasery contains 9000, Sera 7000, and Gandan 4000 Lamas vowed to celibacy and living together on the contribution made by the visiting public and the state. The most magnificent monastery is that of Potala built between 1642 and 1650 by the first Dalai Lama who is believed by the Tibetans to be the living incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and hence the principal object of worship in Lhasa. The centre of the whole monastery is occupied by a great block dominating the others, which contains the temples, audience halls and the Chaityas of the Dalai Lamas. Besides the reception and state rooms and sanctuaries it is said to contain 10,000 chambers for its myriad occupants. Around this central place are grouped a number of smaller ones, where the inferior members of this great ecclesiastical order reside. On the roof of this Red Palace are the gilded pavilions of Chinese style that render it so conspicuous in the landscape.¹ Thus it is the centre of all political and social activities and in it has fully culminated the ideal of temple and the intimate connexion of the state therewith.

The Samya-monastery about 35 miles south-east from Lhasa near the Sangpo river is the earliest in Tibet founded about the middle of the 8th century by the famous teacher Padma-Sambhava who went from Bihar along with other Buddhist teachers and modelled after the great temple-monastery of Odantapuri near Nalanda and of Vikramasila both destroyed by Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji about 1194. This Samyas monastery with its large temple and four separate colleges enclosed by a circular wall about a mile and a half in circuit and containing a notable library and the state treasury became the metropolis of the Red-cap order. The monastery of Sakya founded in 1071 is said to contain the largest single building in Tibet; it is seven storeys high and has a spacious assembly hall and a library

¹ See Photograph from Fergusson, vol. I, plate vi between pp. 292, 293.

which is famous for its collection of Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts. Its grand Lama was acknowledged by Khubilai Khan in 1270 as head of the church and made tributary prince of Tibet. The intimate association of non-political character of the state with the church is illustrated by the Sakya monastery. The Gandan monastery founded in 1409 by the Geludgpa Lama Tsong-Khapa, of which the chief object of reverence is the lofty mausoleum of the founder built of marble and ornamented with malachite and a gilded roof. It encloses a *stupa* of gold in which is deposited the embalmed remains of the sage. One of his disciples founded the Sera monastery two miles north of Lhasa in 1417 in which are about 5500 monks. The Depung monastery 3 miles west of Lhasa "contains fully 7000 inmates". It was founded in 1414 and modelled after the Indian monastery of Dhanyakataka or Amaravati. Within its enclosure there is a large temple surrounded by four chapels and a palace of Lhasa Lama. The Gyan-tse monastery forms a little fortified town. Its buildings rise in tiers. It is locally known as Gandhola, a name of the great temple at Bodh-Gaya. It is a beautiful structure¹ 100 ft. high and 800 ft. in circumference and is built in five stepped terraces with recessed angles on the plan of the Vimanas (tower) of the Indian temple. Above these is a circular drum of one storey and over it a smaller square one surmounted by a spire of thirteen great rings of gilt copper covered by chhatra canopy of same material. In the different storeys are numerous shrines dedicated to different Buddhas which are reached by inside stairs, and the terrace roofs of the successive storeys form a series of chaityangas or Pradakshinapatha.²

Temples in south India are classified under two groups, Chalukyan and Dravidian. Most of the earlier and finer examples of the Chalukya group covering Mysore and all the Kanarese country perished during the early Muslim invasion and the later rule of the various Muslim dynasties of the Deccan. Extant examples include the great temple at Ittayi, the temple of Someśwara at Gadag, the Chandadampur temple of Mukteswara, the Malikarjuna temple at Kuruvatti on

1 See plate vii, Fergusson Vol. 1, between pp. 294-225.

2 See plate from Fergusson Woodcut 250, vol. 1, p. 430.

the right bank of the Tungabhadra, 3 miles from Chandadampur; the Galageśwara temple at Galaganatha 9 miles north from Chandadampur; the Buchhanapali temple near Hyderabad, the Keśava temple at Somanathpur, the Rajarājeśwara temple at Belur, the Kedareśwara temple at Balagami and the Kedareśwara temple at Halebid.

The metropolitan temple of Anamkonda or Hanamkonda, 4 miles north-west of Warangal in Hyderabad, was erected by king Pratāparudra of Kakatiya Dynasty according to an inscription on it in 1162. For some 300 years (1000-1300) the Hoysola Ballala kings of Mysore built groups of temples. Soma the general of Narasimha Ballala completed the Somanath temple in 1270. The Belur temple was built by Vishnuvardhana in 1117. The same king probably started the Halebid temple in 1135; it appears to have been continued in 1219 by Vira Ballala and one of his queens but partially destroyed by the Muslim invaders in 1310-1311. The Śiva temple at Aihole was built by the Chalukya king Vikramāditya (655-50); it contains an inscription of the Chalukya king Vijayāditya (718 A. D.) recording a grant for oil to be burnt in the temple.

The Dravidian temples are spread over the area below Mysore, Hyderabad and Orissan border to the extreme southern point of the peninsula. Though cut out wonderfully from rock the Kailasha temple at Elapura, modern Ellora in Aurangabad of the Hyderabad state, is an example of a perfect Dravidian temple. The construction of this wonderful Śiva temple on the hill Elapura is ascribed to the king Krishna I (757-783) of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of Malkhed. Fresh additions appear to have been made from time to time in the rock walls of the surrounding court. Unlike the Buddhist caves, the Kailasha temple is not a mere interior chamber cut in rock, but is a model of a complete temple cut away from the rock externally as well as internally with amazing precision. Its monolithic character is the principal source of awe and wonder. Its unalterable character and appearance of eternal durability are also remarkable. In the centre of the rectangular court 100 ft. by 280 ft. stands the

temple consisting of Vimana (tower) 96 ft. in height preceded by a large square porch supported by 16 columns; before this is the detached porch for the Bull Nandi reached by a bridge; and in front of all stands the gateway (gopura). On two sides of the porch are two fire pillars (dhvaja stambha) and two life-size elephants. Round the court there is a peristylar cloister with cell and above are some halls which give to the whole a complexity and at the same time a completeness, which never fail to strike the beholder with astonishment and awe.

The Mammallapuram Rathas or seven Pagodas on the Madras coast all cut in granite and in single block showing no sign of wearing or decay are placed in the seventh century. They are all left unfinished. The first on the north is Draupadi Ratha, next is Arjuna's Ratha, the third is Bhima's Ratha, the fourth on the extreme south is Dharmaraja's Ratha which is the finest and most interesting of the group.¹ The small Ratha to the west of others, forming the fifth group are called Sahadeva and Nakula's.² The sixth is Ganesa Ratha situated at a distance of three quarters of a mile north of the others. In this there is an inscription dedicating the shrine to Śiva by king Atyaṅtakama Ranajaya who is identified with Rajasimha Pallava of the 7th century and who executed the Dharmaraja and probably the other excavated shrines of Mammallapuram within a short period about A. D. 670 to 700.

Of the remaining temples of the Dravida country the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal was built by Loka mahadevi, the queen of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya II (733-747). The Sangameswara temple at the same place to the north-west was erected in the reign of Vijayaditya (647-733). At Aihole Ravikirti, a Jain, built in 634-635 Meguti temple during the reign of Pulikesin II. The Malegitti Śivalaya outside the town of Badami was also built in the 7th century. At Conjivaram or Kanchipuram the Kailasanatha temple is the most interesting one. It was built by the Pallava king Rajasimha or Narasimha Vishnu, son of Ugradanda Lokaditya between 655-680 as shown by the inscription on it. The Vaikun-

1 See plate from Fergusson's Woodcut 190, vol. I, p. 334.

2. See plate *ibid* Wood cut 193, p. 337.

the Perumal is a Vaishnava temple at the same place. The Ekaramanatha is a Śaiva temple possessing the largest Gopuram of ten storeys of 188 ft. in height built by Krishnadeva Raja of Vijayanagar (1509-1530). In little Conjivaram is the Varadaraja Swami Vishnu temple which is the principal seat of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Ramanuja. The Śiva temple or the seven Pagodas contain two shrines, one dedicated to Vishnu and another to Śiva. It was built about the 9th century A. D.

The oldest and best preserved of the Dravidian temples is the Tanjore temple of Brihadiśvara Śiva-linga, otherwise called Rajarajeshvara. It was built by Rajarajadeva Chola I, son of Parāntaka II between 985 and 1012 A. D. Long inscriptions in old Tamil covering the base of the central shrine further record the gifts of gold images, vessels and ornaments made to the temple by king Rajaraja and his eldest sister Kundavaiyar. It consists of two courts, one a square of 250 ft. originally devoted to the minor shrines and residences but converted into an arsenal by the French in 1777¹. The main shrine 50 ft. by 250 ft. is two storeys in height above which the pyramid rises in thirteen storeys to the summit of 190 ft. culminating in a dome of single stone. The tower, Virana, which is the best in the south, dominates over the Gopurams and smaller shrines of the Vaishnava faith added in the 16th century. The most remarkable object in this temple is the image of Bull Nandi carved in a single piece of granite stone measuring 16 ft. from muzzle to rump by above 7 ft. across, 12 ft. 2 in. to top of head, 10 ft. 4 in. to top of hump and 7 ft. 5 in. to top of back².

Of the several other smaller shrines in the enclosure the Subrahmanya or Kartikeya temple is, as stated by Fergusson, the most exquisite piece of decorative architecture in south of India³. On the other hand the Valmikeswara (Śiva and consort) temple at Tiruvallur in Tanjore district is stated to be the worst artistically with its irregularly spaced Gopuramas numbering

1 In 1758 Lolli besieged it in vain, in 1771 the English took it and in 1801-1802 Raja Sarfoji had it purified and reconsecrated.

2 The image of Bull without being connected with a Śiva temple at Bangalore is more bulky but the carving is more wonderful at Tanjore.

3 Plate from Fergusson Woodcut 214, vol 1, p. 365.

five and its great hall with 807 columns half of which are mere posts not fitted to carry a roof of any sort. The oldest existing portion is the shrine of Achaleswara which contains defaced inscriptions of Rajaraja I and Rajendra Chola (A.D. 985-1018).

Śrī Ranganatha Vaishṇava temple at Srirangam $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Trichinapoly proper is the largest temple in the south. It consists of four courts or prakaras and fourteen or fifteen Gopurams or gate towers. The fourth court encloses the shrines and the hall of 1000 columns which actually contains 958 pillars being 18 in front by 63 in depth. The outer enclosures are generally occupied by the Brahmans and persons connected with the temple. The outermost enclosure is practically a bazaar (market) filled with shops when pilgrims are lodged and fed. It measures 2521 ft by 2865 ft. The shrines and inner prakaras must have been built before the 12th century by some king of the Nanyak dynasty, for, Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya in 1254 made large gifts and additions to the temple and in 1271 Kampana Ulaiyar of Vijayanagar repaired it. Its further progress was stopped in the 18th century by the French who occupied and fortified it. Within a mile to the east there is the Jambukeswara Śiva temple which surpasses in beauty as an architectural object though not so large. Its hall of 1000 pillars contains 720 columns. It is also furnished with enclosures, Gopurams and Mandapams, and a tank fed by a perpetual spring. An inscription on the south wall of the second Prakaram is dated in the tenth year of the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya who began to reign in 1251; the outer enclosures were probably added as late as 1600 A.D.

The Śive temple at Chidambaram (a name of Śiva) in South Arkot district is the most venerated if not the oldest. It is dedicated to the Akāśa lingam of the Pancha lingams.¹ But the chief idol of the temple is Natesa or dancing Śiva. There is the temple of Parvati also which is remarkable for its singular elegance of its porch. The Chitasabha or main shrine

1. The Prithvi lingam made of earth at Conjivaram; the Apa-lingam extruding water at Jambukeswaram, the Tejah-lingam sparkling with light at Tiruvannamalai in South Arkot the Vayu-lingam, of which the lamp vibrates with wind at Kalahasti in north Arkot; and the Ākasa lingam having no material representation at Chidambaram.

is also furnished with its Kanakasabha or golden hall, Nritya-sabha or dancing hall, Deva-sabha or office hall, a porch of 56 pillars, hall of 1000 pillars, Mandapams, Gopurams and enclosures. This exemplifies the growth of a big temple by the efforts of several generations. According to an inscription Viranarayana or Parantaka¹ early in the 10th century covered the hall with gold or erected the Kanakasabha. An inscription of Rajadhiraja I (1018-1052) shows that the two inner enclosures were in existence in the 10th century. The temple of Parvati on the north of the tank was added in the 14th or 15th century to which period the great Gopurams and second enclosure also belong. The north Gopuram 140 ft. high is ascribed to Krishnadeva about 1520 A. D. The hall of 1000 columns was erected between 1595 and 1685 where the outer enclosure was commenced but left unfinished.

There is a detached hall also across the Śiva-ganga tank and opposite the main temple. It is called the Rajasabha, king's council hall of 1000 columns of monolithic granite arranged 24 in front by 41 in depth making 984. It measures 338 ft. by 197 ft.

The Śiva temple at Rameswaram in the island of Pambam exhibits all the beauties and the characteristic defects of the Dravidian style. It has also records showing clearly how the temple property was administered and how the actual builders were deprived of all control. Like other temples it also consists of the shrines, enclosures, Gopurams, Mandapams, halls and corridors. Externally it is enclosed by a wall of 20 ft. in height possessing four Gopurams. But the glory of this temple resides in its corridors, which extend to nearly 400 ft. in length, cover 17 ft. to 21 ft. in breadth and rise to 30 ft. in height; each pillar being 12 ft. high standing on a platform of 5 ft. from the floor. The side corridors are almost 700 ft. of uninterrupted length.¹ The central shrines were built in the 15th century by Udaiyan a Seturati chief of Ramnad and his family endowed it exclusively. In the 17th century the Ramnad Rajs erected the surrounding

¹ None of European Cathedrals are more than 500 ft. and even the nave of St. Peter's, Rome, is only 600 ft. from the door to the apse. See from Fergusson, Wood cut 225 vol I. p. 383.

walls (prākāras) to which additions were made in the 18th century including the Amman temple.

The Pandaram or the manager of the temple raised a suit against the Zamindar of Ramnad to deprive him of the hereditary right of supervision of the temple. The Privy Council did not accept claims of the Ramnad Setupatis and deprived them of their right to appoint the Dharmakartās or have any share in the management of the temple which their ancestors built and had so richly endowed. The court would not interfere with the manager's plans whose agents destroyed the old inscriptions and forged others, leased out the temple property to his own relations, destroyed the statues of former patrons and benefactors of the temple to substitute those of his wealthy caste fellows. This is a unique instance but the same absolute right of management was no doubt given over by the state in order to show that the ecclesiastical administration was free of political interference. The temple is thus a wholly autonomous state in itself enjoying all sovereign power.

The great temple at Madura is composed of the sanctuary dedicated to the Sundareswara (linga) and the shrine of the goddess Minakshi or Pārvati.¹ The compound measures about 730 ft by 850 ft. The temple originally had ten Gopurams, a beautiful tank surrounded by arcades, a hall of 1000 columns and a small shrine dedicated to the god Sabhapati. It was built in the 13th century by a Sundara Pandya. In 1324 it fell to the Muslims who plundered it mercilessly. In 1372 it was recovered by the Vijayanagar sovereign and Hindu worship was restored. The Minakshi Nayyaka Mandapam was built by Tirumalai Nayyaka in 1623-1629 or his elder brother Muttu Virappa. The Kalyana Mandapam was built in 1707 and the Tatta Sudhi in 1770.

At Madura there is a famous detached hall, the celebrated Vasanta (spring) Mandapam known as Tirumalai's Chaultri. Tirumalai Nayyaka in 1623-1659 built it for the reception of the presiding deity of the

1. Minakshi means both fish eyed and bright eyed. It was also the name of the wife of king Sundara Pandya. There was another queen Minakshi the last sovereign of the Nayyaka dynasty who was betrayed by Chanda Sahib, Newab of the Karnatik.



Temple of Svayambhumath, Khatmandu, Nepal



Pitakat Taik, Sacred Library, Burma



Buddha's encounter with the elephant, Nalagiri, Amaravati



Sculptures from Isuramunia, Anuradhapuram, Ceylon

place where he could also receive in a suitable manner the homage of the king and his subjects. The hall is 333 ft. long by 105 ft. in width and consists of four ranges or columns all of which are different but elaborately sculptured. It is identical with corridors at Rameswaram¹. According to Wilson 'it was begun in the second year of Tirumalai's reign and completed in twenty-two years (1623 to 1645) at a cost of upwards of a million sterling; the main temple must have cost between three and four times as much as the hall.' In front of the hall Tirumalai Nayyak commenced his Raja Gopuram, measuring 174 ft. from north to south and 117 ft. in depth larger in scale than that at Srirangam and far surpasses that celebrated edifice in the beauty of its details. But Tirumalai did not live to complete it.

The Gopuram at Kumbakonam, though smaller than that at Madura, is a richly ornamented example of its class. There are small temples at Kumbakonam. At Tinnevely there is a double temple, the great square being divided into equal portions, of which the north one is dedicated to the god Śiva and the south half to his consort Parvatī. There is a detached pavilion, Kalyāṇa Mandapam, at Velor near Koimbatore. Its cornice in particular is of great architectural interest. It is assigned variously to 1350 and 1485. The porch at Perur 3 miles south-west of Koimbatore is dated between 1350 and 1750.

Lastly Vijayanagar which was finally destroyed by the Muslims in 1565 contains ruins in such profusion and variety as exist nowhere else in India. The most remarkable temple in the city is the Vithala or Vitthalaswami Viṣṇu temple. It stands in a rectangular enclosure 538 ft. by 310 ft. with Gopurams on three sides. Outside the east entrance stands a lofty Dipadana or lamp-bearing pillar and there are two beautiful pavilions one of which is the Ratha. Surrounding the whole court there is a corridor with three rows of piers. The shrine is made of granite and carved with boldness and expression of power. There are bold cornice of double flexure, the detached shafts, the Vyalis and the richly carved stylobate, etc. There is on the right the car-pavilion the principal storey of which is formed of a single block of granite with movable wheels². It

1 See Plate from Fergusson's Wood cut 228, vol. 1, p. 889.

2 See plate from Fergusson's Wood cut 236, vol. 1, p. 403.

was begun by Krishnadeva in 1513 and continued by Achyuta Raya in 1529-1542 but was never finished.

At Tadpatri, about 100 miles south-east of the capital, there are two Vishnu temples. The Chintala Tiru Venkata Swami temple was built in the time of Timma Nayudu the local governor of Krishnadeva. About 50 miles still further east in the Karnal district there is the Diguva Ahobalam temple which is assigned to Prataparudra about 1300.

The garden pavilion at Vijaynagar is an example of the detached building. The hall 125 ft. by 69 ft. by 56 ft. in Tirumalai Nayyak's palace at Madura would serve as a very effective instance of what Indian architect could do so far as civil edifices are concerned¹. It is situated round a courtyard 160 ft. by 100 ft. surrounded on all sides by arcades of very great beauty. The pillars which support the arches are of stone 40 ft. in height and are joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance of design, carrying a cornice and entablature of 60 ft. in height. On the west stands the corners and the octagonal drum rises from these, pierced by a clerestory. Above this at the cornice 45 ft. up the octagon is changed to a circle and the dome rises in the centre to 75 ft. from the floor. The Court in the palace at Tanjore and the palace at Chandragiri will further show the finest examples of Indian Civil architecture.² As a lover of fine art Fergusson deploras 'the disappearance of former refinement in the south of India like in other parts also and points to the modern palaces of the Karnatic Nawabs and of the Rajas of Ramnad and Travancore, which are the bad copies of Italian style that was not properly understood, and which are unsuited for the use to which they are applied'

No temple proper exists in Ceylon. As in India the ruins in Ceylon have suffered at the hands of Public works—countless pillars and steps have been broken up to go into culverts on a road and 'the ruins at Puliyan Kulama were sadly destroyed for ashlar to build three or four large culverts on a branch road.' In Anuradhapura there are two Dagobas or Stupas. The larger one Abhayagiri, of

¹ See Plate from Fergusson Woodcuts 240, 241, vol. i, p. 414, 413.

See Fergusson vol. i, Woodcuts 242, 244, pp. 415, 418.

1000 ft. in circumference, 328 ft. in diameter and 260 ft. in elevation is ascribed to king Vattagamani Abhayar or Walagamabahu who conquered his kingdom in the first century B. C. and to commemorate his victory he is stated to have built also a Vihara or monastery on the site of Jain temple. The second Dagoba known as the Jetavanāma was begun by king Mahasena in the 4th century and finished by his successor Kirti Siri Meghavanna. Of the smaller but more sacred Dagobas the Ruwanveli dagoba was erected by king Dutthagamani between B. C. 102 and 78. The same is stated to have built the Mirisavetiya dagoba also. Still smaller ones are known as the Thupāma and Lankāma. The king Devanāmpiya Tissa is stated to have built about 246 B. C. the relic shrine of Thupāma to contain the right collar bone of Buddha. The origin of the Lankāma is not known but it appears to have been restored along with others by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186). In addition to these there are a great number of dagobas of various sorts scattered over the area once covered by the old city of Anuradhapura.

At Polonnaruwa, the ancient Pulstipura also known as Kalingapura, there is the Jetavanāma temple ascribed to the period of Parakramabahu. It contains an erect statue of Buddha built of brick 58 ft. in height. There are also Kiri dagoba, Rankot dagoba and others, of which the Rankot dagoba is ascribed to Kirti Nissanka Malla, a Kalinga prince of the 12th century, who is also stated to have built the Sat Mahal Prasada and Galpata which are like the Rathes of Mammallapura in south India. Close to the water-dage a circular unique building is situated at the Thumarama temple, a large oblong brick structure with walls of 5 ft. thickness was built also by Parakramabahu.¹

Pagan the old capital of Burma excelled the Ceylonese capital both in the extent of its buildings and in their magnificence. But the rise and fall of Pagan corresponds with that of Polonnaruwa. It was founded in the middle of the 9th century and destroyed by the Chinese or the Tartar army of Kublai Khan in 1284. The most remarkable is the Ananda temple built by Kyantsittha (1057-1085). It is a beautiful pagoda of several storeys in height, the two lower ones are

1 See plate iv, Fergusson I. between pp. 246-247.

square with square turrets at each end, the three above have seated lions at each angle¹. A slightly larger but almost identical is the Dhammayangyi built also at Pagan by Narathu in 1160 A. D. The temple of Gandaulin is still more beautiful.² The Mahabodhi temple was built after the Bodh Gaya temple by Nandanngmya Min in 1198 A. D.

The monasteries known as Kyaung attached to the Pagodas are less magnificent. Their ruins only remain at Thaton, Prome, and Pagan. The Kyaung at Mandalay³ illustrates the Burmese monasteries. It is raised from 8 to 10 ft. above the ground and surrounded by a balcony on three sides access to which is supplied by flights of steps enclosed between balustrades with a peculiar curved termination. Burmese pagodas are circular and temples are square. There are three groups of ecclesiastical monuments in Burma. The Bupaya pagoda at Pagan is about the earliest one being placed in 3rd century A. D. The Baubaugyi pagoda in Prome consists of a solid mass in brick of a cylindrical form about 80 ft. high.

The Abhayadāna pagoda⁴ like the Seiunyet pagoda shows the bell-capital. In the Sapada and Tamani pagodas there is above the bell a square moulded plinth symbolic of the chamber in the basement, known as the Dhatugarbha or relic chamber. The most important in whole Burma is the great Shwe-Hmandan pagoda at Pegu ascribed to two merchants who raised it to 12 cubits and successive kings of Pegu raised it to the present height of 324 ft. above its terrace and 354 ft. above the country three or four centuries ago. Similarly was completed the Shwe Dagon pagoda⁵ at Rangoon starting from 27 ft. in height was raised to 129 ft. in 15th century and to the present height of 321 ft. in 1768. The earliest example of the square temple or pagoda is the Lemyet—hna at Prome attributed to 8th and 9th centuries. It is about 24 ft. square and is built in brick with a solid pier 8 ft. square in the centre surrounded by a corridor 4 ft. wide.

1 Plate XLI, Fergusson, vol. ii, between pp. 360 and 361.

2 Wood cut 454, Fergusson vol. ii, p. 364.

3 Wood cut 357 " " ii, p. 368.

4 Plate xxxvi, vol. ii, pp. 342-43.

5 Woodcut 447, vol. ii, p. 348.

There are two other classes of religious structures in Burma, known as Thein or ordination hall, and Pitakat Taik or sacred library. The Upali Thein in Pagan dating from the 13th century is a rectangular one divided into nave and side aisles by arcades. The centre aisle or nave is loftier than side aisles and is similar to the Chaitya or Christian church. There is a second Thein at Pegu dating from 1476. The Pitakat Taik at Pagan¹ was built by Anuratha in 1057 to house the Buddhist scriptures. It is a copy of the Thaton library, square in plan; four parallel corridors round the central chamber or cell; the ground storey is of moderate height; the roof consists of four storeys, set back one behind the other with ogee roofs between, resting direct on the vaults of the corridors.

In Siam or the land of the Thais, the Venice of the east, corresponding to the Burmese Thein or ordination hall for priests there is the Bot of Vat Jai at Sukhodaya which stands within the Vat or enclosure of the temple opposite the principal entrance and behind a porch. The principal feature in the Bot, admission to which was confined to the priests, was the great altar carrying a gilded statue of Buddha, which was always placed in the central aisle, in the last bay but one. In its rear was the principal Phra or Stupa of the temple. The Phra Prang and the Phra Chedi are the two types.² The upper part of the Phra Prang has a dome shape which may have been derived from the Buddhist Stupa in India or Burma, but the upright part looks more like the Sikhara or spire of a Hindu temple. The Phrachedi is based on the Stupas of India, but the cell containing the relics of Buddha is placed underground and reached in larger examples by secret passages in the thickness of the walls. At Sukhodaya there is one of the Phra chedis of Vat Jai and the Pathomchedi in Phra Pathom. Among other Siamese buildings Vihans or Viharas, and Kamburiens similar in design to Bot are the assembly halls where people assembled to offer prayers and listen to sermons. In the Vat Tha Sao at Ayuthia the central court with the great Phra in the centre is identical with those of Beng Mealea and Ankor Vat of Cambodia. The galleries round it and the towers

1 See plate XL of Fergusson, vol. II, between pp. 356-357.

2 Plate XLVI of Fergusson vol. II, 406-407.

at the angles and in the centre of each front appear to have been carried out by the Cambodian architects. The Cambodian influence is shown also in the Vat Phra Prang Sam Yot at Lophaburi, which 'consists of three sanctuaries, cruciform on plan, side by side, with corridors between them. Above each of these sanctuaries is a lofty tower with five receding storeys enriched with sculptures. The Hall of Audience at Bangkok¹ illustrates the bad taste of Bangkok Pegodas, palaces, porticos and dwelling houses showing the innate and irresponsible aspiration in architecture degenerating into vulgarity because "the new civilization in Siam is not indigenous the men of progress wearing European hats, the ladies French gowns, and the rich people building palaces with Corinthian porticos and sash windows'

The Cambodian temples bearing Indian influence and built by the kings are classified under four groups. In the first group are placed the temples of Ta Prohm, Kedai, and Pre Rup in which the enclosures, generally three in number, are all on the same level. Secondly temples like Phimeanakas and Bapcun bear the pyramid shape and consist of seven narrow terraces rising one above the other. Thirdly the temples of Angkor Vat² at Bayon, also pyramidal in form, are a combination of the first and the second groups and their enclosures, one within the other, are each raised from some 20 ft. above the level of that outside. And lastly the smaller temples consist of three or five sanctuaries placed side by side, the centre one being the most important, the whole being surrounded by a wall or moat. In many instances the enclosures take the form of a gallery or corridor which is roofed over with horizontal courses of stone corbelled over till they meet at the top. The gateways to the several enclosures are called Gopura as in India and over the centre of the Gopura is a tower which in the entrance gateway of Angkor Thom is carved on each side with Brahma heads.

In front of the Cambodian temples also within the enclosures as in India, there are tanks of water with

1 Woodcut 475 of Fergusson vol. ii, p. 412, Woodcut 462, and 463 vol. ii, pp. 384, 385.

2 See appended plate.

stone borders and steps round. These not only provide water to the temples and the visitors but also serve as reservoirs of enormous dimensions to supply water for agricultural and other purposes.

The temple of Angkor Vat or city temple is situated between the city of Angkorthom and the lake Tonb Sap. Its walled enclosure measures 1080 yds by 1100 yds and is surrounded by a moat of 216 yds. wide. Its great gateway is five storeys in height of 180 ft. Its shortest width north and south is more than 600 ft. It is thus higher and larger than Borobudur and has better ornamentation and more delicate carvings. The temple of Rameswara is equal to it only in colonnades, but inferior to Angkor Vat and Borobudur in architectural design and sculptural decorations. The galleries or colonnades at Angkor Vat are perfect in their mechanical arrangements and artistic design.¹ The general view of the temple of Angkor Vat is equally grand and charming.²

The great temple of Bayon with fifty towers within the city walls of Angkor Thom belongs to the third group. It was founded by Jayavarman II and consecrated by Yasovarman about 900 A. D. The finest example of the pyramid temples is that of Bapuon south of the palace in Angkor Thom. But the more charming is the temple or Nakhon Vat.³

Of Insul Indian or Indonesian islands Java supplies last examples of Indian temples. The earliest extant monument in Java is the great Barobudur⁴. It is situated on the summit of an isolated hill. It is nearly a pyramid in form. It is described as a seven storeyed or nine storeyed Vihara or monastery according as we reckon the platform on which the seventy two small dagobas stand as one or three storeys. Its basement measures over 460 ft. across but the real temple is only 300 ft. from angle to angle either way. But it is famous not for its dimensions or architectural design but for the

1 See plate from Fergusson's Woodcut 462, 463, vol. ii pp. 384, 385.

2 See appended plate and Fergusson Woodcut 464, vol. ii, p. 387.

3 See plate from elevation made by Fergusson's Woodcut no. 46, vol. ii, p. 382.

4 See appended plate.

remarkable sculptures that line its galleries. The sculptures in both faces of galleries in two storeys would extend over nearly 3 miles of ground. Buddhas including five Dhyanī Buddhas, in groups of three, five, and nine are repeated over and over again. There are Bodhi-sattvas and saints of all sorts. The sculptors must have been imported from India, for, the character of the sculptures and the details of the ornamentation are identical with those in cave 26 at Ajanta, 17 at Nasik and in the caves at Kanheri in Salsette, at Kondivte, Mayathana and other places. It is assumed that Barobudar was erected between 650-750. But the builder or builders of this great monument are still unknown. It may however, be assumed that such a structure could have been constructed only with the patronage of some ruling authority if not by the ruler himself.

In Java there still exist remains of several such temples, *viz.*, Chandi Bhima, Chandi Arjuna, Chandi Jabang, Chandi Sari, Chandi Kali-Bening near Kalasan and Chandi Panataran. There is a second temple at Panataran, which is known as Serpent temple because whole of the basement moulding is made up of eight great serpents, two on each face, whose upraised heads in the centre form the side pieces of the steps that lead up to the central building. There is another temple of this class at Machanponthi of which the sub-basement is composed of one tortoise and two serpents and the heads of these three animals uniting on the west face and forming the entrance.

Apart from the fragmentary inscriptions found in some of the temples described above there are hundreds of copper plate inscriptions which contain more details of ecclesiastical endowments. No elaborate citation of these historical documents is necessary. By way of illustration a few only are quoted below. They will show to what great extent the royal donors were anxious to renounce their complete right over the land and monetary grant they made to the temple authorities for the upkeep, repair, offerings, feeding of the poor and recluses, etc. Owing to the sentiment that no gift could bring spiritual merits to the donor and his ancestors if it be not completely made over, the donee enjoyed the complete autonomy in the administration of the endowed property resulting in the creation of the small sovereign state within the bigger state but

causing some obvious administrative confusion concerning thieves, etc., who could take shelter and escape punishment by running from one state to the other.

The Indor copper plate inscription of the time of Skandagupta dated, 465 A. D. records a perpetual endowment for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura or modern Indor. 'This gift of a Brahman's endowment of the temple of the Sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oil men as long as it continues here or elsewhere should give for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two palas of oil (daily) uninterrupted in use and without any diminution.' The transgressor is merely threatened with the criminal punishment due to the murderer (of a Brahman), theft of gold, adultery with preceptor's wife, drinking of intoxicating liquor, and abetting any of these crimes and the minor crimes like killing a cow'.

Four out of the five copper plate grants of the Parivrajaka Maharajas, and all seven copper plates of the Uchchakalpa Maharajas are records of endowments some of which are specifically made for temple purposes, some as gift to Brahmans, and some made as gratuity. Thus the Parivrajaka Maharaja Sankshobha 'in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings' made in 528 to Chhadugomin half of the village of Opani for the purpose of Bali or offering of grain, rice, etc., to gods and all creatures Charu or oblation of cooked food for the deceased ancestors, and Sattra or alms and refuge to the needy people, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn at the temple of the Goddess Pishṭapuri'. Here all right excepting the right to fines imposed on thieves and mischief doers is made over to the donee. No obstacle to the enjoyment of this grant is to be caused by his successors or feudatories as it is made to increase the religious merit of his parents and himself. The authority of the Mahabharata is quoted to the effect that 'preservation of a grant is more meritorious than making a grant and that the giver of land enjoys heaven for sixty thousand years but the confiscator of a grant and he who assents to an act of confiscation shall dwell for the same number of years in hell'. The writer of the document was Iśwaradāsa and the king himself gave it in person and did not employ any

Dutaka or messenger to convey the orders to the local officials.

The Maharaja Hastin of the same dynasty made three grants. In the first of 475 A. D. for the same purposes as in the previous instance he granted the village of Vasuntara-shaṇḍika to the Brahman Gopaswamin and others with the Udranga and Uparikara implying some unforeseen income and with the privilege that it is not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops but with the exception of the right to fines imposed on thieves. In his grant of 482 A. D. the Agrahāra of Korparika was made to Devaswamin and other Brahmans with same privileges and for similar purposes. In his grant of 510 A. D. the village of Valugarta was granted to Govindaswamin and other Brahmans in the identical manner.

The grant of the Maharaja Jayanatha of the Uchchakalpa dynasty, dated 493 A. D. is recorded in a more legal form. "Be it known to you the cultivators that for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, the village of Chhandapallika is granted by me, being in good health, to the Brahman Mitraswamin with the Udranga and Uparikara and with the privilege that it is not to be entered by irregular or regular troops but with the exception of the right to fines imposed on thieves. You yourselves shall render to him the offer of the tribute of the customary royalties and taxes, and shall be obedient to his commands." His successors should assent to it and should not confiscate it and they should not take such taxes which by custom did not belong to the king. The authority of the Mahābhārata is quoted here also regarding the criminal punishments, etc. His other grant of 496 A. D. records the grant of the village Dhavashandika to the Brahman writer (divira) Sarvavada and his sons and successors for the royal temple of the god Viṣṇu for the purpose of repair and maintenance of Bali, Charu, Sattrā, and other rites. The villagers including Brahmans and artisans were asked to offer to the new owners the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, etc., and to be obedient to their commands. The same warning and persuasion are also added. The Maharaja Sarvanatha of the same dynasty made the grant in 512 of the village of Āsramaka to the specified Brahmans in four shares with the same

conditions of repair of the temples of Vishnu and the Sun and maintenance not only of Bali, Charu, Sattrā but also perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps. He made two other grants one of which is dated 516 in the same way. His grant of 533 recorded the sanction of the Maharaja Sarvanatha to the transfer among private grantees of two villages named Vyaghra pallika and Kacharapallika for the purposes of a temple of the Goddess Pishṭa-purikādevī at the town of Manapura. The Maliya grant of 517 records its issue from Kathiawad Gujerat by Maharaja Dharasena II of the Valabhi dynasty. It is stated that 'the king being in good health issues a command to all the officials, viz., Āyuktakas, Vinīyuktakas, Drāṅgikas, Mahattaras, irregular and regular troops, Dhruvādhikārikas, Danda-pisikas, Rajasthānyas, Kumaramātyas and others that some lands at the villages of Antarātra, Dombhigrama and Vajragrama are given by him with libations of water in accordance with the rule of land transfer to the Brahman Rudrabhuti for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra, and Atithi (feeding of guests) to endure for all time and to be enjoyed by the succession. It was given together with the Udranga, Uparikara, vāta, bhuta, grain, gold, and Ādeya and with the right to forced labour and with the privilege that it is not to be even pointed at with the hand of undue appropriation by any of the king's people. And no one should cause obstruction to this person in enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brahman, and cultivating it, or causing it to be cultivated, or assigning to another. As usual it was to be assented to and preserved by his successors as stated by the venerated Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas. This charter was written by the minister of war and peace and contained sign manual of the king and it was conveyed or registered by a high official

In 766 Śilāditya VII of the same dynasty issued from his camp at the town of Ānandapura a similar charter to record the grant to a Brahman of the village of Mahilabali.

King Harshavardhana of Kanauj made similar grant in 632 from the camp of victory containing boats, elephants, and horses from Pinthika (Madhuvana) and announced that he had broken a forged edict on the

strength of which the Brahman Vamarathya enjoyed the village of Somakandika and taken it back from him and duly gave it to Bhatta Vataswāmin and Bhatta Śivaswāmin as an Agrahara and commanded the people to give these donees the share of the crops, objects of enjoyments, taxes, gold and service generation to after generation.

The Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena of the last quarter of the 11th century contains reference to the erection of the temple of Pradyumneswara Śiva to whom the king provided 'bright coloured dresses, a hundred lovely female attendants adorned with jewel-ornaments, towns filled with citizens and endless wealth'. In the very same way endowments were made in south of India also. But the Chammak copper plate of Maharaja Pravarasena II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty issued in the 18th year of his reign from the town of Pravara-pura in the Bhojakata kingdom corresponding to east Berar contains certain additional and legally useful conditions which are missing in the land-grants of East, North, and West India. The village of Charmanka in the Ilichpur district of east Berar measuring 8000 Bhumis was given to 1000 Brahmans. The high born royal officers employed in the office of general superintendents and regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers were commanded thus "Be it known to you that in order to increase our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, and for the sake of our welfare in this world and in the next and generally for our benefit, this village is granted, in our victorious office of justice as a grant not previously made, with libations of water. Now we grant the fixed usage, such as befits this village and such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of Chaturvedi (Brahmans); namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it the right to cows and bulls in succession of production or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from all obligation of forced labour, it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits and the Klripta and Upaklripta. It is to be enjoyed for the same time with the moon and the

sun; and it is to follow the succession of sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all possible means. And whosoever disregarding this charter shall give or cause to be given even slight vexation, we shall inflict on him punishment together with a fine when he is denounced by the Brahmans. In this document which has at least the merit of religion, in order to avoid boasting of other meritorious actions performed by us we do not recite our care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone." Then the authority of Vyasa is quoted regarding preservation and confiscation. But unlike in the endowments to temple or deities it is laid down here that this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brahmans (donees) and by future lords, namely, enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brahmans for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituent parts, *vtz*, king, his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury, of successive kings; that they are not slayers of Brahmans and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, etc., that they do not wage war, and that they do no wrong to other villagers. But if they act otherwise, or assent to such acts, the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

This citation should make clear the legal position between royal donor and the two classes of the donees, namely, the managers of temples established already by the king, his ancestors or others, and those institutions like universities, colleges and monasteries, and those Brahmans and monks who are not associated with any temple property but who are given endowments by the king so that they may perform their communal and caste duties of learning and educating the society without anxiety for earning their livelihood. In the former case under no circumstances the grant is taken back but the manager may be changed, but in the latter case if the donees fall down from their noble pursuits they are deprived of the royal grant. Thus the state did not interfere with the administration of ecclesiastical property but the king enforced a standard of morality for those who lived on royal or public charity.

It should be noted that from the point of view of culture the temple is a monument at once of the social, economic, political and religious progress. Moreover architecture proper is the basic record of all fine arts. The idea at the root of a temple construction is religious. It is built to house the idol of god for the purpose of worship. It serves a social benefit of great value inasmuch as temple is not only a place for worship but it is a centre of learning there being schools, colleges and lecture halls and debating societies. Men and women, old and young, meet there on equal footing and exchange views and ideas. Thus the temple compound is an exhibition ground showing the economic and moral prosperity of the visitors, the wealth of the builder, the skill of the artists comprising architects, engineers, carpenters, sculptors, painters, decorators and other artisans. The inscriptions on the temple itself and the copper plate records preserved by the priests and the managing body as quoted above show beyond doubt the amount of responsibility which the ruler felt for the moral and material progress of the people. Indeed of all the literary and monumental records dealing with the family, economic, political, and moral and religious life the institution of temple combines in itself all these phases of life of a civilized nation.

SCULPTURE

"Art and by this is ordinarily understood, painting, sculpture and allied handicrafts—is but the handmaid of architecture which has been the foundation of all great aesthetic movements since history began." Percy Brown further adds that "a powerful creative spirit is an essential quality" of the arts of sculpture and painting co-related to architecture. The short account of houses together with articles of furniture and of the objects of sculpture and painting as described above does not include numerous other objects which may be included under the category of fine arts distinct from mere crafts. The fine arts or Kala in Sanskrit are classified under a traditional list of sixty-four.¹ But a commentary

1 The 64 arts include singing, instrumental music, dancing, painting, paints over the body, arranging flowers in pots and gardens, bed making, garland making, dramatic play, composing verses, jugglery, sewing, weaving, solving literary puzzles, carpentry, dress-making, doll-making, house-making, etc.

vaguely refers to as many as 528 fine arts of which no details are available and may have been made up by including crafts of which the number is unlimited. The objects of mere craft are intended to serve only the utilitarian purpose, for instance a sailing vessel, a doll for a child, a basket to carry things, a godown to store goods, a third class waiting room in a railway station, an office room in a shop, etc. As objects like these are intended for a set purpose some engineering skill is required in their execution and a certain amount of durability is also ensured in order to make them marketable. But an object of fine art demands much more than skilful workmanship and durability. It must have a symbolic meaning and its beauty must consist in proportion, symmetry, uniformity and harmony which alone can satisfy the aesthetic craving of an educated mind. Thus in its execution there must be a definite plan and design and it must be made in strong and durable materials. The same object, therefore, may be treated as an instance of craft or fine art. A doll for instance may be made both as a play thing for a child or as a fine sculpture with a symbolic significance and an aesthetic value. Similarly a house may be built as a mere object of engineering or as a real object of architecture both externally and internally, to demonstrate externally its character by its mere look as a man is distinguished from a woman or a Sikh is distinguished from a Gurkha, and internally to show without a name plate whether it is a temple room or a bride's room, a school room or an office room. Thus it is stated by Burgess that "architecture, it must be understood, is something more than the mere art of building in any form ; and, if a definition is required, it must be that it is the fine art of designing and constructing ornamental buildings in wood, stone, or other (lasting) materials. It is thus distinct from common building or civil engineering."

This definition is equally applicable to objects of other basic arts also, *viz.*, sculpture and painting. Like the artistic temples referred to above and described more fully elsewhere there still exist in India numerous objects of sculpture. But the extant objects of artistic painting are confined to a few places especially at Ajanta.

Although art was practically absent in the buildings unearthed at Mahenjodaro and Harappa, the object of

sculptures were not wanting. The human heads and various animals especially the bull were carved with skill and scientific accuracy. These realistic images are, however, in sharp contrast with the idealistic terracottas which are mere crafts.

In the Vedic period we do not find description of sculptural objects like those of the architectural ones. In the *Ramayana*, however, a clear reference is made to carving of Sita's image in gold in so much realistic details that ordinary onlookers would not be able to distinguish it from Sita herself accompanying her husband at the great festival known as the *Aswamedha* sacrifice. Similar realistic descriptions are supplied by the *Mahabharata* and the Buddhist texts. The pre-Mauryan sculptures exist in the colossal statues of Yaksha obtained from the village of Parkham with an inscription in Mauryan Brahmi which states that it was carved by 'Gomitra, pupil of Kunika'. This establishes the fact that there were trained carvers and necessary chisels and tools to carve the hardest stone, much like the skilled masons, accomplished stone cutters and dainty jewellers, who built the Piprahwa stupa in 450 B. C. on the frontier of Nepal. Yaksha and Yakshi images have also been found at Patna, Besnagar, Haroda, Mathura, and the Naga statues at Besnagar and Chhargaoon, and the Kalpavriksha at Besnagar. But these specimens of sculpture indicate only crude representation and lack in real art. They are objects of crafts only.

Since B. C. 500 all the basic arts must have developed rapidly. The Buddhist art which commenced from B. C. 250 during the reign of the great Asoka, comprises monuments of perfect beauty. The numerous columns artistically erected to bear Asoka's edicts are well-proportioned and beautifully polished monoliths 'with grooved capitals which are surmounted by the image of some animal. The abacus as a rule is also decorated with animal and floral ornaments'. The charming and well-known lion capital at Sarnath near Benares bears four figures of stately lions which once supported the Dharma-chakra or stone wheel, the symbol of Law that Buddha had proclaimed. The abacus is decorated with four effigies of the sacred wheel alternating with four animals an elephant, a bull, a horse and a lion. Prof. r Vogel rightly surmises that "in all probability these animals symbolize the four quarters, the whole monu-

ment being meant to convey that the good doctrine was destined to spread in all directions to the ends of the earth. The images also exhibit the artistic proportion, symmetry, uniformity and harmony and the perfection in their carving.¹

Tradition ascribes to Asoka the erection of 84,000 stupas with which monasteries and convents were no doubt built. The stupas proper as at Sanchi, Bharhut, Benares, Gandhar, Mathura and other places is not, however, of much artistic value. It is a primitive type of building, a sort of masonry tumulus intended as receptacle of relics. It is, however, crowned with a square railing of stone which enclosed a standard supporting an umbrella. But the enclosing railings at the lower part as well as on the ground and the monumental gateways are covered with sculptures which are very remarkable specimens of genuine Indian art. Both at Sanchi and Bharhut the sculptured decoration consist of panels in which scenes portrayed from the life of the Buddha and the Jataka stories, concerning Buddha's previous existences, especially those in which he appeared on earth in the shape of some animal, are illustrated in profusion on the stone railing-pillars, along the coping of the large balustrade, and all over the gateways. This art as Professor Vogel concludes possesses a 'powerful charm by virtue of its genuine naivete, its great love of nature, and pre-eminently its devotion to and intense veneration of the Buddha.' It is remarkable for its scrupulous avoidance of Buddha's portrayal in visible form. At Bharhut secular subjects also were portrayed. Thus the procession of Ajātasatru on his visit to Buddha is depicted artistically. Jetavana monastery with its mango tree, temples and Anāthapinda emptying a cartful of gold pieces are also beautifully carved. There is also a beautiful carving of the inmates of two storeyed house looking down from balconies and a pair of geese and peacocks standing on the wall, which carry the idea of a peaceful home. Mauryan arts are also illustrated by the remains of a pillared hall at Patna, rock-cut shrines at Barabar hills, a throne at Bodh Gaya together with the famous temple of much artistic skill, some terracotta heads found at Sarnath and the elephant carved beautifully at Dhauli in Orissa. Amidst

1 See plate appended as in plate 1 of Vogel's *Buddhist Art*

2500 carvings of various kinds which exist at Bodh Gaya there are a few figures of female devotees but no images of Buddha. The reliefs illustrating the Jataka stories include the purchase of Jetavanarama. But the inner faces of the old Bodh Gaya rail contain animal figures including horses, etc. There are also lotus medallions with human busts and animal figures, superhuman male and female beings of a fearful nature. There are sculptures of the Brahmanical deities also. One relief represents Indra and another the Sun in a chariot drawn by four horses. The Earth goddess is represented standing on a tortoise, Lakshmi mounted on her vehicle, and also the Bhairava attendant of the god Śiva.

Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Lumbini garden at the border of Nepal and Kusinagar or Kasia near Gorakhpur are the four famous places associated with the four main events of Buddha's life, *viz.*, enlightenment, preaching of the first sermon, birth, and nirvāṇa or death. At Lumbini garden there is the memorial pillar erected by Asoka. At Kasia there is a stupa and a colossal image of Buddha made in the fifth century A.D. by one Dinna, a sculptor from Mathura as stated in an inscription. At Sarnath there are sculptures of the Maurya, Sunga, Gupta, and later periods. The Dharma-chakra monasteries at the Deer Park and the Dharmarajika stupa of the Mauryan age are all in ruins and have mostly disappeared. But 'the lion capital of Asoka column, though in fragments, is a piece of most developed Indian symbolic art. In the masterful strength of the crowning lions with their swelling veins and tense muscular development the Mauryan sculptor had shewn dexterity and experience of generations behind'. Several of the stone-railing belonging to the ruined stupas are assigned to the Sunga period ending about 50 A.D. Of the subsequent period known as Kushan period, about 50-300 A.D., there is a colossal statue of Bodhisattva with an inscription of the third year of Kanishka's reign. The head of this image is shaven and the style of drapery resembles that of the Parkham statue of Yaksha. The sculptures of the Gupta period (300-600) include stele divided into four panels of equal size one above the other, which represent four scenes of the Buddha's life, *viz.*, his birth, enlightenment, preaching and demise. There are some slabs of eight panels also, portraying the

above four events as well as the four minor scenes of Buddha's life. The latter include the scene of his descent from the heaven at Sankasya or modern Sankisa in Farrukhabad district in U. P., the great miracle at Sravasti, modern Saheta-Maheta in Gonda District, the presentation of bowl of honey by a monkey in the Perileyaka forest near Kausambi, and subduing of the wild elephant Nalagiri. Several of the Jataka stories are also illustrated. On a beautiful door lintels four bas-reliefs relating to the Kshantivadi Jataka are artistically depicted. There are standing images of the Bodhisattvas also. There are also well carved stone images of Avolokitesvara, Maitreya, and Mañjuśrī, gods of the Mahayana pantheon. There are several images of Tārā, in one of which the goddess holds by the left hand a water pot on the hip, in another the goddess is attended by Marichi, the goddess of Dawn and by the angry Ekajata, in a third one Tārā is seated in an easy pose on a lotus and in a fourth one Vajra Tārā is carved in the round with four heads and eight arms.

There are also Jain reliefs with standing images or busts of Tirthankaras. The Brahmanical images include a colossal figure of Śiva spearing Andhaka demon with his trident. There is an image of Trimurti with three faces. There are also the image of Gaṇeśa in sitting pose and the representation of Durgā holding mace adorned with a pair of human skulls on her left shoulder, and in another she is shown piercing the buffalo with her trident in the right hand. A votive plaque shows a four armed figure of Viṣṇu wearing a high head dress, a sacred thread and a garland, his right hands holding a lotus and a conch and left hands a mace and a wheel. The minor images include faces of animals, image of Jambhala, the God of wealth, with the protruding eyes and tusks, corpulent deformity, wearing cobras and trampling on a prostrate figure. The image of Marichi the goddess of Dawn or Vajravaraṇi is carved with three faces including the boars' head and three hands wielding various weapons, and standing in the archer's attitude on a chariot drawn by seven boars. There are the images of Vasudharā, the goddess of plenty, Bhairava riding a dog, and the Vamana or dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Sarnath sculptures show a flourishing condition of art in all its varieties.

Mathura on the bank of Yamunā situated between Delhi and Agra was the place of Krishna cult in the pre-historic period. The well known Kharoshthi inscription on the Lion capital found near Saptarshi Tila states that in the first century B. C. Kshatrapa Rajula and his son Sodasa were ruling over Mathura. From about the first century A. D. Mathura passed under the sovereignty of the Kushans who played an important part in the development of Indian sculpture. They introduced the image worship of Buddha in accordance with the Mahayana doctrine in place of the symbol worship of the Hinayana system which had been in vogue at Bodhi Gaya, Sarnath, Sanchi, and Bharhut. Beginning was made here of the Buddha images which ultimately developed into five varieties, viz., Buddha in meditation, Buddha in ecstasy, Buddha as a teacher, Buddha as a pilgrim, and Buddha on his death-bed. Thus during B. C. 50 and 300 A. D. Mathura served as the distributing centre of Buddha images and other objective sculptures. It owed its importance as Professor Vogel says, 'as an emporium to its situation on the great trade route which connected the two capitals of the north-west border provinces, Pushkalavati or Purushapura, modern Peshawar, and Taxila (where Gandhara school of sculpture developed during the same period) on the one side with Pataliputra or Magadha on the lower Ganges and on the other with Bharukachchha, the great sea-port on the west.' Mathura appears to have been closely connected also with Dhanyakataka or Dharanikata, modern Amaravati in the Guntur district, Madras, where the Andhra kings were ruling from B.C. 250 to 100 A. D. In the districts adjoining the deltas of the Krishna and Godavari rivers Buddhism flourished from Asoka's time. The famous Buddhist scholar Nagarjuna who was born in Vidarbha, modern Berar, and died at Srisailam gave birth to the Mahayana school which introduced the Buddha images in the south wherefrom its chief centre was established at Nalanda and thence it spread to Mathura and Gandhara. We shall see the influence of the Mathura school on the Amaravati schools in the south and the Gandhara school in the north. "Buddhism in its gradual expansion over Indian continent", holds Professor Vogel, "naturally followed the great trade routes. It is clear also from numerous inscriptions that among the merchant class its most zealous adherents were counted."

Numerous pieces of sculpture have been discovered in the city and the district of Mathura, although not a single building to which they belonged has been preserved. But several inscriptions of the Kushan kings make it clear that the first wife of the great Satrapa Rajula founded a monastery with an adjoining stupa on the river bank below the city. There was another monastery farther south which was famous for the splendour of its sculptural ornamentation and was founded by the Kushan king Huvishka. A third monastery known as the Yasa-Vihara was in existence in the sixth century. Excepting its slender shape the Mathura stupa resembled those at Sanchi and Bharhut, the balustrade, railings, gates and their decoration being of the same pattern. The ornamentation of the pillars also including lotus-rosettes, palmettes, animals and female figures, bears strong resemblance. "Mathura school must be considered," declares Professor Vogel, "as a direct development of the early sculpture of central India. It is, therefore, fundamentally Indian. The earlier sculptors of Mathura had represented Buddha by means of symbols. Thus a railing pillar shows a Bodhimanda under the Bodhi tree. A relief shows the worship of Buddha's alms bowl. The railing pillars illustrate some Jataka scenes also including those of the worst evil and the presentation of honey by monkeys. There are Basreliefs illustrating scenes of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, descent from the heaven, first sermon, death", etc.

But the symbolic form of worship was replaced by the image worship when the Mahayana system was introduced during the Kushan period. And Mathura produced numerous Buddha images of various dimensions. Sri Apurva Prakash in his *Foundation of Indian Art and Archaeology* has classified these into two types side by side showing the Buddha head as shaven as well as with luxuriant hair twisted into large knot upon the crown of the head, clean shaven face as well as face with moustache and beard in terracottas, normal ear as well as ear with elongated lobes, head without Ushnisha or skull protuberance and head with Ushnisha covered with spiral locks, drapery leaving the right shoulder bare as well as drapery covering both the shoulders, drapery with natural loose folds concealing the body and drapery transparent showing the body and arranged in schematic folds, nimbus plain or scalloped at the edge in low

relief and nimbus ornamented with a narrow foliated band, in sitting posture with the right hand raised in Abhaya-mudrā and the left hand clenched resting on the thigh, in the same posture the figure being in the Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā, in the erect or standing posture the left hand supporting the drapery as well as lifting up the hem of the drapery; the feet protruding from the drapery and lying flat and uncovered up to the thighs and cross-legged when seated as against the drapery covering the entire body up to the ankles leaving only the feet free and the feet also covered with drapery in sitting posture; the seat being a lion throne (simhāsana) as against lotus throne (padmāsana) or diamond throne (vajrāsana); for standing images there often being a seated lion between the feet as against a bundle of lotus buds between the legs. In several examples both these types are found mixed up. Buddha images all over India come under one of these peculiarities whether created simultaneously or borrowed from the Mathura stock.

Professor Vogel recognises the fact that early in Kanishka's reign a Bodhisattva image was brought from Mathura to the Deer Park at Benares. A similar image with a stone parasol was erected by the same donor, the monk Bala, in the Jetavana of Sravasti. In several other spots on the Gangetic plains fragments of sculpture have been recovered which are carved in the yellow-flecked red sandstone of Mathura. Such pieces have also been found in Sanchi and as far north as Taxila. As late as the fifth century a colossal image of the dying Buddha was erected at Kushinara on the site of the Teacher's Nirvāṇa. The inscription states that it was the work of one Dinna, a sculptor of Mathura. These few examples will suffice to show that Mathura in the first centuries of the Christian era was the great centre from which Buddhist art (that is sculpture) spread over the entire region of the Ganges and far beyond including Gandhara on the one side and Amaravati on the other.

The first forms of most of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses probably originated at Mathura because of its association with the Krishna cult. Thus we see here the Eka-mukhi (one-faced) Lingam of Śiva, Śiva and Parvatī as husband and wife, Ardhanārīśvara image of Śiva and Parvatī, Simha-vāhini Durgā, four

armed Vishnu, Gaja-Lakshmi, four-armed Mahisha-mardini Durgā, Vasudharā, and Sūrya (sun) with Ushā (dawn). There are reliefs illustrating Vasudeva, Krishna's father carrying the baby Krishna to Gokula across the Yamunā. There are railing pillars depicting the ascetic Rishyasringa, Kapila, Bharadvaja, etc. There are several statues of the Sun god including one with Dandā and Pingalā by his sides, one with Ushā and Pratyushā, one seated in a chariot of two horses and wearing coat and trouser found in the Kankali Tila. The earlier sculptors of Mathura depicted on the railing pillars 'Yakshinis or Vana-devis engaged in toilet scenes holding mirror in hand, enjoying tricks with unwary cranes and parrots, playing with balls, bathing under mountaneous cascade and singing to the accompaniment of seven stringed flute'. The pillars of Bhūteśvara contain Yakshi figures of erotic character. Mathura possesses yet another type of images representing male beings adorned with rich head gear and a profusion of ornaments.

There are numerous terracottas and stuccos of archaic tutelary female Yakshinis, Vedic deities, Buddha and Bodhisattva images, Jīna images and symbols, secular scenes and decorative panels in stucco, baked clay and stone.

Besides the images of gods, goddesses, incarnations of Vishnu in ten forms, the Mathura sculptors were successful in carving images of historical persons like Vema Kadphises, Kanishka and other Kushan princes, ladies, noble men, as well as local residents wearing turbans, etc. There are panels depicting the lovely toilet scene of Buddha's half brother, Nanda, and his wife Sundarī, which Asvaghosa immortalised in his poem, the Buddha-charita.

Like Mathura, Gandhara occupied an important situation as a centre of culture. It covered the region between the Indus and Kunar rivers comprising the districts of Hazara, Rawalpindi including Taxila, Peshawar, representing ancient Pushkalavati and Purushapur, Bajaur, Swat, Bunar and Yusufzai, Gandhara monasteries embrace the remains at Jamalgarhi, Takhti Bahi, Shadhehri, Sanghao, Nathu. Lorian Tangai and Swat representing Vedic Suvastu. Darius I conquered Gandhara along with Sindh and part of the Punjab and it remained under the Persian from

B. C. 530 to 330. The Persian rule was replaced by the Greek after the conquest of Alexander the Great who entered the Peshawar valley when Gandhara was under the rule of an Indian king called Astes by the Greeks with his capital at Pushkalavati, modern Charsadda, and Taxila was under Omphis or Ambhi. In about B. C. 300 Gandhara came under the Maurya rule as a result of treaty between Seleukos Nikator and Chandragupta. Asoka fixed up the border of the Mauryan empire by his Rock edicts at Shahbazgarhi some ten miles east of Mardan. After the breakup of the Maurya empire in about B. C. 200 Gandhara was absorbed by Diodotus I the Indo-Parthian monarch in his kingdom. The Eucradites replaced the family of Demetrius in Bactria, Kabul valley and Gandhara, but in about B. C. 135 they were expelled by the Scythian Sakas and the Kushans finally turned out the Parthians and continued to rule the Gandhara provinces from 150 to 550 A. D. when the Huns Toraman and Mihirgula overran northern India.

King Asoka introduced Buddhism in Gandhara wherefrom Buddhism made the triumphal progress to China and Japan through Central Asia or Serindia and to Insulindia or Indonesian islands. But the prosperity of the Gandhara sculpture was due to the Kushan king Kanishka who held the Third Buddhist council guided by famous Nagarjuna of the south and embraced Mahayana Buddhism to which the introduction of Buddha images is ascribed. Outside India the Gandhara art appears to have been the parent of the objective art of Eastern Turkistan, Mangolia, China, Korea, and Japan.

In about 400 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian saw the stupa of the Eye-gift decorated with silver and gold and some 700 Buddhist priests at the Patra chaitya. Song-yun in 520 A. D. was the last to see the glories of the Buddhist shrines in Gandhara province who met the Hun king Mihiragula in camp practising the most barbarous atrocities. When Hiuen-Tsang visited the country in 630 A. D. most of the monasteries were in ruins.

The monastic ruins of ancient Gandhara have supplied an incredibly large quantity of sculptures which are now preserved in museums at Peshawar,

Lahore, Calcutta, Louvre at Paris, British Museum in London and in the Museum für Volkerkunde at Berlin. But among these many thousands of sculptures there is not a single one which bears a clear date, the inscribed sculptures being very few. The Buddha image of Leriyān Tangi is dated in the year 318 and the Hastanagar pedestal in the year 384 of some unknown eras. The stupa at Manikyāla is dated in the 18th year of Kanishka whose actual date is still a matter of dispute.

The hemisphere over the Gandhara stupas were loftier and more slender than that of the stupas at Sanchi and Bharhut. The former were placed upon a square platform consisting of several terraces. Thus the whole looked like towers and were so called by the Chinese pilgrims. There were no stone balustrade and Toranas or gateways at Gandhara stupas which were decorated with rows of reliefs depicting the life of the Buddha fully and in chronological order. Jataka scenes were few and included the stories of the Prince Vesvantara who was the king of the Śibis and of the hermit boy Śyāma.

The Bodhisattva is illustrated by the scene of Buddha's departure from Kapilavastu both at the east gate at Sanchi and at Gandhara.¹ He is dressed as prince Siddhartha in royal robe riding on his horse Kanthaka whose hoofs are supported by Yakshas. On one side is the umbrella-bearer and on the other is Mara in the garb of a warrior who as the Buddhist Satan vainly tries to make Buddha to return to the domestic life. Here the halo around Buddha's head marks him as Bodhi-sattva. There is a Buddha figure on a lotus throne with a long stalked lotus on either side, one on the left supporting a Vajrapani and the other bearing a half-worshipping figure.

As in Mathura the detached images were found at Gandhara also. One of these in sitting posture was carved in monk's dress.² It is marked with Urna, a slight eminence of circular shape between the eye-brows and the Ushnisha, a knob on the top of the head tapering in shape in later examples. These are the tokens of his superhuman nature. The head is covered with

1 Plate appended from Vogel, No. 9.

2 Plate appended from Vogel, No. 7.

short curls. It is provided with a moustache but there is no beard or ear-ring. The drapery keeps the right shoulder and arm uncovered. The hands are joined upwards at the middle of the breast in a special mudra. The legs are crossed in swastika posture keeping the sole of the feet upwards. The image is seated upon a pedestal which is held up by two lions at the two ends between which just below the feet of Buddha there is a seated image in meditation attended by two figures on each side. The Gandhara images of the Buddha were carved both in human as well as docetic form with the physical characteristics established by Indian tradition. It is stated to bear the well marked Greek influence by its features "which sometimes remind one of Apollo or Dionysus", and especially by the nimbus round the head and also probably by the folds of the drapery. The types similar to the Gandhara ones are still found in Tibet, China, and Japan. Besides the various facial expressions there is also some similarity in the treatment of hands, hair, drapery, pedestal, etc.

The other Hellenistic motifs of Gandhara art are supposed to be decorative elements like the vine leaves with bunches of grapes, the winged or snake-tailed monsters, the kneeling Tritons, acanthus leaves, the Corinthian pilasters, the Bacchanelian scenes, the so-called silenus, Hercules with the Nemæon lion, and the narrow line of saw-tooth ornament above the medallions. Professor Vogel recognises the painstaking workmanship bestowed on some of these reliefs which reveals the artistic sense and pious mood of the sculptors. On the other hand Gandhara for all its output has produced few works of art of outstanding merit. These few include the image of the king of the Yakshas, Buddha emaciated by his long fast found both at Gandhara and Mathura and the striking scene of Mara's threatening host of demons on the march to wrest from the Buddha his seat under the Bodhi tree'. Havell and others also hold that the Gandhara sculptors were not high class artists but some sort of mechanical craftsmen.

It is necessary to note that the Gandhara images like those of Mathura were not exclusively Buddhist. Thus the Jataka scenes include the figure of Indra. The sun and the moon are represented with the nimbus on the relief from Jamalgarhi. Sarasvati, the Brahminical

goddess of learning and music, is represented sitting sideways on a lion and holding on her knees a lute. A Śiva image was found at Charsada with three heads, three eyes, six arms holding the Damaru or drum, trident, and waterpot and standing before the Bull Nandi. There are also Viṣṇu images with several arms and the mutilated statue of the one-horned sage Eka-sringa.

Besides the numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical images carved in stone there are large number of heads made of stucco and of terracotta. They vary in size from two inches to life size. They are sometimes seated and clothed in folds of drapery with hair woven into rows of curls. Many of the stucco fragments from Takhti Bahi are well preserved and of great delicacy and beauty. Some of these are furnished with beard and heavy moustache. Some scholars think that these represent Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Like many other critics Professor Vogel is also uncertain about the origin of the so-called Greco Buddhist art in Gandhara. It is a hybrid combination. There is an undeniable stamp of the Grecian and other foreign semblance. But the essential elements are purely Indian. Even in the Buddha images one cannot fail to notice absolutely Indian way of sitting in particular *āsana* or seat, keeping the hands in Indian Mudrā forms, and above all meditating in the peculiarly Indian method. The images bear the Indian proportion of the Talamāna measure. Besides the Buddha was recognised as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. At the same time as pointed out above certain decorative features of the Buddha image like the folds of drapery and especially the nimbus round the head are of foreign origin. Professor Vogel does not think king Menander (150 B. C.) could have introduced the Grecian influence on Gandhara sculptures. The evidence of coins points rather to the Scythian Prince Azes who reigned about half a century before the Christian era and made the beginning of the Graeco-Buddhist art. But the hayday of Gandhara art was brought about by the Kushans who about 50 A.D. subdued northern India and made the Satraps of the Parthian and Scythian kings their tributaries. King Kanishka founded a stupa outside the walls of his capital Pushpapura (Peshawar) which is praised by the Chinese pilgrims as the largest pagoda of India. He also introduced the Mahayāna pantheon which gave rise to

the Buddha image. Victor Goloubew is quoted by Apurva Prakash as holding the view that the Buddha images were at first made in Mathura. It also seems that all essential elements of the iconography of Buddha and Bodhi-sattva figures had already appeared in Mathura before they were noticed in Gandhara. The spiral locks and the curly hair had been known to the Mathura sculptors. The drapery leaving the right shoulder and right arm free and Ushpisha, etc., were already practised in Mathura; they only took new forms in Gandhara under the Hellenistic and other foreign influence.

Some practising artists notice in the Gandhara sculptures a fidelity to nature and anatomical treatment. 'A definite attempt is made towards the realisation of the idea of perspective. The figures in groups are delineated on different planes. The light and shade are so well controlled that they convey the impression of a picture. The objective artists of Gandhara gave attention to naturalness and reality, endeavouring to render the optical impression in a correct objective manner. They presented the body as relaxed without any tension in its attitude and well graduated. It was in the best period of Gandhara sculptures that the objective Indian artists paid their attention to display anatomy. The early subjective sculptures (like the portions of an elephant frieze nos. 305, 319) were not chiselled with so much fidelity to nature. Minute and careful observation and accurate delineation are noticed in the later objective representations. They are thus stated to be intrinsically beautiful, skilfully executed, and well adapted to express both the objective ideal of the Indian artists and the religious sentiment of their patrons or donors.'

Some foreign influence of decorative and unessential character has been variously tried to be explained. The Gandhara sculptures flourished most during the supremacy of the Kushans who before they came to India had long sojourn in Bactrian and Oxus valleys and might have absorbed some non-Indian motifs which they introduced to the Gandhara sculptures. Roman sculpture of the same period has some semblance to the Gandhara sculptures. But since the time of the Seleucids it was from Western Asia that the streams of art flowed westward over the Roman empire.

In Western Asia the arts of Greece and Ionia were fused together. Some Persian elements are also observable in Gandhara sculptures. Excepting the inscription in Aramaic character no other monument of Indo-Persian period has, however, been found at Taxila and in its neighbourhood. There is hardly any evidence to support the theory of Chinese influence on the Gandhara sculptures as profounded by Kakasu Okakura in his 'Ideals of the East with reference to the Art of Japan.' The sculptures of the Han dynasties of B. C. 206 to 220 A. D. may have some features, drapery and decoration in common with those of Gandhara sculptures but no direct intercourse between China and India at that period can be traced. The more convincing appears to be the assumption that in the evolution of arts among various nations and countries there was an independent growth of certain features of non-essential character which were the common development without any influence or borrowing. So Apurva Prakash holds the view that 'the Gandhara Buddha is neither Greek, nor Roman, neither Iranian nor Chinese, neither Scythian nor Kushan, but universal'. It appears to be clear that the Gandhara sculptures are essentially Indian and belong entirely to Indian life as they deal with Indian topics, Indian saints, Indian legends, Indian religions, Indian animals and Indian plants and flowers. There are local varieties but the theme is all Indian and the iconographic proportions are based on the Indian *talamana* as suggested by the *Silpa-sastra*.

Amaravati in the Guntur district of Madras represents the ancient Dharanikota the old capital of the Andhra kings from about B. C. 250 to 100 A. D. In the district adjoining the deltas of the Krishna and the Godavari rivers Buddhist mounments once existed in large number. But the entire Amaravati stupa with its sculptured pillars and panels were demolished for building materials. The stupa at Jaggayyapeta or Betavolu 30 miles north-west from Amaravati was plundered for its rails and the marble casing of its basement, the dome was destroyed and the relic casket dug out and stolen. Remains of other Stupas also testify to the predominance of Buddhism in this province a couple of centuries before and after the Christian era. The Amaravati stupas at Dharanikota appears to have

been constructed in the second century B. C. as indicated by the oldest sculptures bearing inscriptions of the Andhra kings in Brahmi characters of about B. C. 200 and also of the time of Nāgarjuna who was intimately associated with this monument as the originator of Mahāyāna Buddhism. An inscription records that some devotees constructed a number of Chaityas and Viharas, and dug wells for pilgrims visiting the sacred place from Gandhara, China, Aparanta, Vanga (Bengal), Vanavasi, Ceylon or Tamra-parṇi dvīpa, etc.

Archaeologists have succeeded in rescuing some precious sculptures. Seven beautiful pieces are preserved at Indian Museum in Calcutta; 160 pieces adorn the great staircase of the British Museum in London; 400 damaged pieces are preserved in the Museum at Madras. Some of the earliest pieces are obviously related to the type of Bharhut. Sculptures of the second series resemble in certain respects the Mathura and the Gandhara style. The railings resemble those at Sanchi and Bodhi Gaya in their general appearance. Majority of the sculptures on the railing were executed during the Andhra kings as indicated by the inscriptions of three Andhra kings, Pulumayi, Sivamka, and Yajna. A further set was added during the later Andhra Kings.

A relief from Amaravati¹ as preserved at Madras museum gives an idea of the famous edifice. The miniature stupa in the relief shows a high bell-shaped dome surmounted by a square Harmika, which supports two umbrellas. It is surrounded by a profusely decorated railing which represents a balustrade of circular plan. 'Facing the four projections of the stupa are the entrances to the procession path, which are formed by the balustrade bending outwards either side.' The primitive character of the Amaravati stupa is indicated by the entire absence of the toranas or gateways and the square terrace connected with flight of steps which decorated the stupas at Sanchi and Bharhut. The great balustrade of the Amaravati stupa consists of pillars of extreme richness and refinement, about 9 feet high and connected with cross-bars and covered by a continuous coping. On the outside both pillars and cross-bars are thickly covered with beautifully carved lotus-rosettes

1. Plate Appended as No. 14 of Vogel's *Buddhist Art*.

alternating with gambolling dwarfs in various attitudes. On the inside the ornamentation is even more varied. The central lotus-rosette of the pillars is here replaced by a medallion containing some story-telling relief, while the space above and beneath is occupied by smaller panels likewise representing either an episode from the Buddha legend or some Jataka. Along the inner side of the coping there runs a series of sculptured scenes, while outside it is decorated with motif of the garland-bearers. But unlike those at Mathura and Gandhara the garland was transferred at Amaravati into a waving and differently decorated scroll which is carried by running dwarfs in Indian garb. The vacant spaces between the curves of the waving scroll are filled with symbols of the Bodhi tree, wheel of the law, (dharma-chakra, a stupa, a five headed Naga or serpent or a Garuda bird.

The reliefs illustrate the Buddha legends vividly. One well preserved piece in Calcutta museum represents the descent of the future Buddha. The first panel shows a Bodhi-sattva in the Tushita heaven surrounded by heavenly attendants. The next panel shows him being carried through the sky in the shape of an elephant, and supported by Yakshas among the dancing and jubilant gods, and the third panel depicts the sleeping Queen Maya dreaming the Bodhisattva descending in the shape of a white elephant. This legend is 'portrayed in grotesque clumsiness at Bharhut and in uninspired realism in Gandhara. But the Amaravati sculptures evinced imagination and plastic skill such as even in India have never been excelled. Another relief preserved in Madras museum is a splendid specimen showing the Buddha's encounter with the mad elephant egged on by his wicked cousin Devadatta to destroy him. The centre is occupied by a group of frightened citizens who are trying to escape from the dangerous beast. The Buddha is seen approaching from the right side. The elephant has been pictured twice, first in his rage seizing a man with his trunk, and again devoutly kneeling before the Master.¹ Here too the pathos expressed by the Amaravati artists is missing in the 'irrelevant detail' of Sanchi. Another Madras

1 See Plate 17 from Vogel Buddhist Art,

specimen presents the four principal events of Buddha's life. The edifying legend of the conversion of Buddha's half brother Nanda, which has been described in the *Saundarananda* by the poet Asvaghosha, is illustrated in a relief the upper half of which is lost. The two remaining panels show young Nanda in the company of his beautiful wife Sundari whom he assists at her toilet and in the next scene he is on his way to monastery carrying the begging bowl of his inexorable brother. There are also reliefs depicting scenes from court life, frivolous ladies in company of young men are masterfully shown. The Buddha standing on a lotus pedestal appears at Amaravati, Mathura and Gandhara. Similarly Buddha with a nimbus is included in sculptures of all these three school centres.

The other Buddhist ruins near about Amaravati include the Jaggayyapeta stupa founded by Virapuri-shadatta of the Ikshwaku dynasty together with inscribed Ayaka columns, and a Mahachaitya, two temples of the old absidal type, monasteries and a few smaller monuments, all of the same style as at Amaravati itself.¹

Buddha's encounter with the mad elephant and other scenes are specimens of the objective Buddha images while his descent from the heaven, etc., are symbolic representations. Although originated at Amaravati the Buddha images developed remarkably at Mathura and Nalanda. As shown above several scenes are common at Amaravati, Mathura and Gandhara and more or less contemporary. Their common motifs and reliefs may have originated from legends common throughout India and without any direct influence from one to the other. The Kushan kings exerted influence both at Gandhara and Mathura but not at Amaravati. The influence of Mathura which is situated mid-way between Gandhara and Amaravati is, however, noticed in both the latter places. Besides Mathura gave rise to the Krishna cult before the Buddha cult. Thus Mathura's influence upon the sculptures of Gandhara and Amaravati may be assumed. But the sculptors of Amaravati were more artistic and skilful than those of two other places.

1 No Brahmanical motifs or reliefs are noticed among the sculptures of Amaravati although they are found in large number in Mathura and in Gandhara.

Of the three recognised schools of our sculptures Amaravati is the most creative and artistic, Mathura is the most universal and exhaustive, and Gandhara is the most receptive.

The survey of the Buddhist art in India would be never complete without a reference to the monuments at Tibet, Burma, Ceylon and Java and other Indonesian islands. The architectural monuments of these places have been described elsewhere. Sculptural monuments of Ceylon and Java only may be briefly referred to here.

Although Buddhism vanished from India about 1200 A. D. it is still a national religion in Ceylon. Thus the Buddhist monuments still exist there. Ruins of Buddhist stupas include the early Ambasthala Dagaba containing the bones of Mahinder and Mahasiya and one containing a hair of the Buddha, which are situated on the sacred mountain of Mihintale. The stupas at Anuradhapura dating between 800-1000 A. D. are of gigantic dimensions and were made of solid bricks. Of these the Thuparama dagaba was built by Tissa. The Ruanwali dagaba is ascribed to Duttagamani about B. C. 100. The Jetavanarama or Eastern dagoba was built by king Mahasena of 325-352 A. D. This is the largest structure, the square paved platform measuring some 600 ft. both ways and the base covering about 8 acres. The Abhayagiri or Northern dagoba was equally big and built by king Vathagamini Abhaya about B. C. 29. The dagobas have retained the early type of the Indian stupas. "They are hemispherical structures raised on a triple circular terrace. The superstructure was a cube carrying a tapering pinnacle. The grooved pinnacle which is connected with the cube by means of narrow neck, still recalls the Harmika with its row of stone parasols peculiar to the early stupas of Indian continent. They are also provided with four rectangular structures projecting from the drum of the dome and facing the cardinal points. They are variously designated as altars, chapels, frontispieces, or screens. These were copied from the Mahachaitiyas of Amaravati and Nagarjuna Konda which consist of a solid dome and drum with four rectangular projections with Ayaka pillars each. The stupas of Ceylon have neither railings nor toranas or gateways and thus missed the opportunity of

sculptural decoration on them. But the two ends of the altar is surmounted by a seated lion figure carved in the round. The front is carved with a high stalk rising from a bulbous vase. And at the Abhayagiri Dagoba there is a charming Naga figure.

Exquisite specimens of sculptural objects are, however, found with other monuments at Anuradhapura. Professor Vogel refers to the flights of stone steps as "works of rare beauty." The circular slab forming the door step or the so called moon stone is decorated with a procession of animals including elephant, bull, lion and horse as are found on the abacus of the Asoka capital at Sarnath. The guardstones at the entrance are carved with two Naga figures, one with a hood of five cobra heads and the other with a nine or elevenfold hood.

'Sculptures illustrating the Buddha legend or the Jatakas are almost unknown in Ceylonese art. Professor Vogel refers to two reliefs', one showing a male figure, looking like a Buddha image, seated with his outstretched right arm resting on his knee, and the head of the horse over his shoulder. The other represents an armoured couple.' The female figure looks charming and the male companion appears to be a warrior with his sword and shield.

The three Buddha images of the Ruanwali dagoba resemble the Buddha type of Amaravati by their general style and treatment of the drapery with its schematic folds. Another Buddha image of 8 ft. height carved in very dark granite is hidden in the forest of Anuradhapura. Here the image is seated in the attitude of meditation with folded legs and hands resting on the lap. Dr. Vogel praises it as 'a grand work of art in which mental repose is admirably expressed.' At the same site two colossal standing figures represent two ancient monarchs of Ceylon, one 8 ft. in height and the other 10 ft high.

Polonnaruwa is a later capital of medieval period. Its two large stupas known as Rankot Vihara and Kiri Vihara were made in imitation of the Anuradhapura types. There are two other temples, called Jetavanarāma or Lankatilaka, ornament of Ceylon, and Thuparama.

1 Plate no. 35 of Vogel's *Buddhist India*.

They contain gigantic standing images projecting from the back wall of the sanctum and made of plastered brick. Remains of frescoes representing Jatakas are found at Lankatilaka. There are also the group of rock cut images at Gal Vihara including a Nirvāṇa statue measuring 46 ft. in length which is much impressive but not of much beauty.

There is a master piece at the Palgul monastery. The figure with its simple dress, imposing beard, braided hair reading a palm-leaf book appears to represent the Bramhanical sage Kapila or Agastya. Professor Vogel declares it as 'the greatest work of art found in Ceylon'.

The most wonderful of the Buddhist stupas is the Barabudur in Java derived from the simpler relic shrines of India. It is most elaborate in construction and ornamentation and quite unique in other respects also. It was built on the top of a hill in the fertile plains of Kedu by the Śailendra kings of Śrīvijaya, a mighty kingdom comprising Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula in the latter half of 8th century A. D. as indicated by the Buddhist inscription of 700 Śaka era corresponding to 778 A. D. found near the village of Kalasan in central Java. The whole edifice consists of six square terraces at the bottom with double recessed corners surmounted by three circular terraces. The uppermost circular terrace is occupied by a large dagaba measuring 52 ft. in diameter and bearing the hemispherical form of the Indian stupa, which crowns the whole monument. All the three circular terraces are 'beset with small dagabas arranged in three concentric circles and numbering 32, 24 and 16 respectively and these 72 degobas are unknown in any other parts of the Buddhist world'. They are not solid but perforated bell-shaped domes each enshrining a Buddha image seated in the attitude of preaching (dharma-chakra Mudra).¹ The four square terraces succeeding the enlarged basement are each provided with a solid stone rampart forming a kind of balustrade. Thus there are four corridors or passages open to the sky serving as the pradakṣhiṇa or the path of circumambulation. From the middle of each of the four sides of the square basement a flight of steps leads up to the top of the

1. Plate no. 36 Vogel's Buddhist India and the plate appended.

monument. On each square terrace the flights of steps pass through a gateway adorned with sculptures including a Kāla-makara consisting of a lion head placed in the apex of the arch combined with two makaras or crocodiles.

Four classes of Dhyāni Buddhas are arranged along the four fascades. Each of these is represented by 92 statues enshrined in 92 niches which are arranged in four horizontal rows along the respective fascades. Besides this there is an upper row of Buddha figures 64 times repeated and placed along the highest square terrace. On each facade the total number of enshrined Buddha figures consequently amounts to 108. Of the four Dhyāni Buddhas Akṣobhya is placed on the east in *Bhūmisparśa* mudrā (touching the earth), Ratna-sambhava on the south in *Varada-mudra* (offering boon), Amitabha on the west seated in *Dhyana mudra* (meditation) and Amoghasiddha on the north in *Abhaya-mudra* (imparting protection). These indicate the fifth Dhyāni Buddha, named Vairocana as placed on the zenith. The sixth Dhyāni Buddha, called Vajrasattva, highest of all and identified as the supreme deity is placed in *Dharma-chakra-mudra* or preaching attitude among the 72 Buddhas enshrined in the 72 dagabas along the three circular recesses which stand upon the six square recesses. There is also a life-size Buddha carved in the round and seated cross-legged on his lotus seat placed on the rows of niches outside the four balustrade. These long rows of Buddha figures arranged along the fascades in impressive uniformity but in different attitude or mudrās are one of the most striking features of the whole monument.

There are also continuous rows of sculptured panels, numbering some 1500 and extending if placed side by side, over three miles, placed on the main walls and balustrades all along the four passages. These sculptures include skilfully carved human figures, 'admirably characterized' elephants and monkeys and other animals, and equally depicted accessory buildings and forest sceneries. Professor Vogel speaks very highly of their aesthetic value and artistic skill when he says that "they are, of course, not all of equal merit but most of them are far above the average and several are real master-pieces", although the artists rendered types rather than individuals. 'Bearded figures in scanty

dress are Brahmans; personages wearing rich attire and abundant ornaments are kings, princes, or nobles but may also be Devas or gods. No attempt is, however, made to characterise a special personage either by his facial expression, hair-dress, or garments. There is a marked tendency to evade the rendering of violent scenes except when such subjects were unavoidable as is the case with several reliefs on the basement partly portraying the punishments in hell. It is to be noted that 'the portroyal of human society, animal life and vegetation is distinctly Indonesian'.

The life story of the Buddha up to the first sermon at Benares as given in 'the famous Sanskrit text *Lalitavistara* is illustrated in the 120 panels in each of the double rows along the main walls of the first gallery. A number of *avadana* or edifying tales are similarly illustrated in the lower row of panels. A large number of *Jataka* stories are illustrated on the reliefs along the balustrades of the first and second passages. The wonderings of the Bodhisattva Sudhara in search of supreme wisdom and meeting with noble men, Gods and Bodhisattvas including Manjusri, Maitreya and Samantabhadra as given in the *Gandavyuha*, are illustrated on the reliefs of the second, third and fourth galleries. Professor Vogel has reproduced two beautiful specimens of the Buddha legends in his 'Buddhist Art'. The one shows the Bodhisattva practising austerities in the wilderness in the company of the five Brahmanical anchorites, and the other represents him crossing the river Nairanjana previous to his enlightenment while divine beings are paying him homage.

Exquisite sculptures are found also in the two other Buddhist temples, Chandi Mendut and Chandi Pawon. The walls of the former show 'graceful figures of Bodhisattvas and goddesses and a number of animal fables probably from *Jatakas*, and on the vestibule there are two graceful panels representing the god of wealth and the goddess of fertility. Among the sculptures of the other temple there are the *Kalpavriksha* or the Divine tree and the treasure vase probably showing the dedication of the temple of Kubera, the god of wealth.

A group of monuments of the Hindu period is found near the village of Prambanan including lofty temples dedicated to the Brahmanical gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. In the eastern Java there are many temples

dedicated to Brahmanical deities. In several instances the temple of this later phase of the Javanese art is at the same time a sepulchral monument preserving the ashes of some Javanese king or queen. The image of the God or goddess enshrined in the temple was at the same time the statue of the king or queen whose remains had been buried beneath the icon. The Indian impress is indicated by the Nagari letters of the name on the statue.

Professor Vogel and all other experts appreciate the remarkable aesthetic value of the Barabudur sculptures in particular. "From an artistic point of view the Barabudur is invaluable on account of its sculptures which are unsurpassed in the east for their profusion and beauty. No where do we find a sculptural illustration of Buddhist lore and doctrine so marvellous in its extent and detail. Also they are distinguished by a definite style in which mental repose is expressed in forms of singular gracefulness."

'To know Indian art in India alone,' says John Marshall, 'is to know but half its story. To apprehend to the full, we must follow it in the wake of Buddhism to Central Asia, China and Japan; we must watch it assuming new forms and breaking into new beauties as it spreads over Tibet and Burma and Siam; we must gaze in awe at the unexampled grandeur of its creations in Cambodia and Java. In each of these countries, Indian art encounters a different racial genius, a different local environment, and under their modifying influence it takes on a different garb.'

It is an extraordinary incident to note that so far as the great art of sculpture and painting is concerned 'the form of expression was not artistically perfected until about the 7th or 8th century when a marked deterioration in literature and other matters commenced'. According to Havell and others the great creative period of Indian art corresponding to the highest development of Gothic art in Europe was the period between 7th and 14th centuries. From the 16th century the creative impulse of the old Indian art began markedly to diminish. He further holds in his 'The Ideals of Indian Art' that Indian art in Java has a character of its own which

1 As quoted in U. N. Ghosal's *Progress of Greater Indian Research 1917-42* and referred to by Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Discovery of India*, p. 249.

distinguishes it from the Indian art whence it came. "There runs through both the same strain of deep serenity but in the divine ideal of Java we lose the austere feeling which characterises the Hindu sculpture of Elephanta and Mamallapuram. There is more of human contentment and joy in Indo-Javanese art, an expression of that peaceful security which the Indian colonists enjoyed in their happy island home, after the centuries of storm and struggle which their forefathers had experienced on the mainland. The broken image of the dancing Nataraja Śiva in the Elephanta caves shows a majestic conception and embodiment of titanic power. Though the rock itself seems to vibrate with the rhythmic movement of the dance, the noble head bears the same look of serene calm and dispassion which illuminate the face of the Buddha."

The great creative period of the Indian art during the period between the 7th and 14th centuries had its foundation laid during the Gupta period from 300 to 600 A. D. It was, therefore, possible in the 7th and 8th centuries to cut the mighty caves of Ellora out of solid rock, with the stupendous Kailāsa temple in the centre and carve on the walls and ceilings of the temples and along the walls of the corridors in storeys the wonderful Brahmanical gods and goddesses and the reliefs containing illustration of stories and legends from the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. 'It is difficult to imagine,' says wonderstruck Nehru in his *Discovery of India*, 'how human beings conceived this, or having conceived it gave body and shape to their conception,'¹

Buddhist sculptures of Bharhut of second century B. C. included several Brahmanical deities like Indra, Brahma, Lakshmi, etc. The Sanchi sculptures included the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi. The figure of the fire god Agni appeared on the Mitra coins of the 1st century B. C. The images of sun god and Śiva were carved on the Kushan coins of Kādphises II and Kanishka whose reigns preceded the beginning of the Gupta period from 320 A. D. Thus the Gupta period saw the revival of the Brahmanical sculptures. Probably as a reaction against Buddhism the Gupta artists at the beginning fell upon the popular belief of the pre-vedic

1 Havell, *Ideal of Indian Art* (1920), p. 169.

2 Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 245, 257.

period and introduced deities with many heads and arms as described in the later hymns of the Rigveda. To this belief may also be described the appearance of Vahana or animal vehicles for Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva, and their consorts, and for other gods and goddesses. Thus we find the rivers Gāṅgā and Yamunā depicted with their respective vehicles, crocodile and tortoise. In the later Gupta period the deities of the Puranic mythology together with the ten incarnations of Vishnu appeared. At Udayagiri caves some six miles north of the Sanchi Stupa, the scene of the great Boar saving the earth from destructive flood is depicted with great vigour and much artistic skill. The other incarnations including the Buddha are also illustrated. The Gwalior museum contains remains of Navagraha or Nine planets of the Pauranic tradition. Elsewhere the great seven sages and host of mythological scenes are skilfully carved.

Now the vedic triad Agni, Indra and Sūrya were replaced by the Pauranic triad Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva. In sculptures these and other deities were associated not only with their animals but also with their Saktis or consorts. Thus Brahmā is accompanied by Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning as his consort and Hamsa or goose as his vahana or vehicle. Similarly Vishnu is represented with Śrī or Lakṣmī the goddess of prosperity at his right and earth goddess Mahi or Pṛithvī at his left. Vishnu's vahana or vehicle is Garuḍa who is represented as a powerful human figure with two wings of a bird and having an aquiline nose and round eyes and placed beneath the lotus throne of Vishnu kneeling on the right knee and with folded hands in adoration. Śiva has some eight Śaktis as his consorts including Umas, Gaurī, and Pārvatī. But in sculptures he is mostly represented as lying under the feet of the ten-armed fighting Durgā or the four-armed Kālī adorned with a garland of human heads. He is also carved as a great Yogī or ascetic wraith in meditation, with matted hair, crescent moon, tiger-skin as drapery, skull and a snake, and trident as the attribute in the north, and an axe-drum and antelope in the south. His vehicle Nandi Bull is represented generally in a recumbent posture, but also standing erect separately as in his marriage scene on the inner wall of a rock cut temple at Ajanta. The famous Tanjore Bull is placed recumbent facing the Śiva temple. The Bangalore

Bull is worshipped in a separate temple of its own. At the entrance of Śiva temples Nandi Bull as well as the three legged Bhṛīṅgi are placed as guards.

Ganeśa and Kārtikeya are represented as the two sons of Śiva and Pārvati. The former is also known as Ganapati and Vināyaka and sculpturally represented with the head of an elephant and a large belly as the god of wisdom seated on his vehicle Mushike or rat and without any female consort. Kārtikeya is variously known as Kumāra and Skanda in the north, and Subrahmaṇya in the south. He is the god of war and is decorated with weapons. He rides on his vehicle Mayura or peacock. Sometimes he is represented with two consorts, Valli and Devasenā. As a warrior he is, however, known as a confirmed bachelor. Virabhadra created from the Śiva's hair also served as a warrior as he slew Dakṣha as reprisal for insulting Śiva's consort Sati at the great sacrifice.

Sculptural representations of several other deities are noticed all over the continent of India. Nagas in the form of Śeṣha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Śaṅkhaḍhara, Kulika, etc., are represented in many places. The demi gods Yakshas, Vidyādhara, Gandharvas, Kinnars, Apsaras are illustrated at Mamallapuram and other places. The Dikpālas or quarter lords are represented with their vehicles, Indra with elephant, Agni with ram, Yama with buffalo, Nairitya with man, Varuṇa with shark or crocodile, Vāyu with deer, Kubera with horse, and Isāna with bull. The Dvārapālas or door-keepers comprising Chāṇḍa and Prachāṇḍa, Jaya and Vijaya, Haraprabha and Subhadra are placed in pair at the entrance of the Brahmanical shrines. Sculptural representation of the Navagrahas or nine planets, like those of the ten incarnations, comprise the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, as Sūrya, Chandra, Māṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra and Śani respectively and Rahu and Ketu. Pingala, the attendant of Sūrya is represented on his right as a bearded, pot bellied man with a pen and inkstand in his hands. The divine physicians, Aśvini-Kumāras, the god of death Yama, the father of man Manu are represented as the three sons of Sūrya.

The largest group of medieval temples in northern India numbering some 600 in Bhuwaneswara and Puri districts in Orissa are remarkable for profusion of

sculptures, some figures of which are grossly obscene but the ornamentation as distinguished from the sculptures properly so called, exhibits the usual variety and delicacy. Similarly the Khajuraho group of temples in Bundelkhand built between 900-1200 by the Chandel kings present numerous bad sculptures some of which are grossly obscene.

Near the seven pagodas at Mamallapuram 35 miles south of Madras there is a beautiful group of sculptures in the form of a tableau representing the goddess Durga in conflict with the buffalo demon. This is praised as the most animated piece of Hindu sculpture by Babington and as of spirited character by Fergusson. There is a huge bas-relief, 90 ft. long and 30 ft high, representing the four armed Durga together with numerous other figures and a whole menagerie of animals. There are also colossal images of a Naga Raja and his queen. These sculptures are ascribed to the 6th or 7th century.

The Halebid temple erected by Hoyasala king Vishnu Varddhana in the 12th century is remarkable for the rich friezes of elephants, lions, crowded with thousands of figures. Some 7 miles to the south is the Belur temple of which the outer walls and the spire are decorated with numerous Brahmanical deities. The Chalukyan temples of Bellary district in Madras ascribed to the 12th century are remarkable for the carving which are characterized by 'marvellous intricacy and artistic finish in even the minutest details' and remarkable for its exuberance of varied forms, boldly designed and finely executed but the figure sculpture is feeble'. The marble temples at Mount Abu in Rajputana dating from 1032 to 1231 carry to its highest perfection the Indian genius for the invention of graceful patterns. The 80 ft. high Jain tower at Chitor in Rajputana and other towers of 1442-1449 are covered with sculptures of highly artistic value. The Jain tower in nine storeys are decorated with statues and ornaments inside and out, and every Hindu deity with the name inscribed below is represented thereon. 'These sculptures', says Vincent Smith, 'constitute an illustrated dictionary of Hindu Mythology'.

The Śiva temple at Madura dating from the 17th century is remarkable for its hall of a thousand columns which is decorated with sculptures of marvellous

elaboration. The walls of some of the buildings are adorned with mythological frescoes. The two magnificent temples at Trichinapoly are celebrated for the colossal rampart, the horses standing about 12 ft. high placed on pedestal in front of the pillars of the Śeshagiri Rao Mantapam are striking for their general design, and look spirited with the attendant grooms and are superior to that of most of the Indian sculpture. The temple at Tanjore is celebrated for its colossal recumbent bull which is a master piece of sculpture. Gods, goddesses and other sculptures at the temple at Chidambaram and Ramesvaram are remarkable for their aesthetic value.

With the great revival of Brahmanical Hinduism in the 4th century the Buddhist worship was not violently extirpated during the Imperial Guptas but slowly decayed. The Buddha images of the Gupta period had a distinct style. The rules of the Śilpa-śāstras were applied to the Buddhist sculptures also. Thus the Buddha image had the same proportion as the Brahmanical gods of the first ranking, the image being ten times its head in length in accordance with the ten-tala system. Buddha images were carved in greater variety of Mudrās and were furnished with decorated Prabhamaṇḍala or nimbus but there was no Uṇṇa or raised mark on the forehead between the eye-brows. The head was shaven and had also curly hair, the drapery being over one or both shoulders. The back of the image was sometimes decorated with four principal scenes of Buddha's life. The Jataka stories, however, were seldom illustrated. Despite the patronage of king Harsha with the assistance of Hieun-Tsiang towards Buddhism in the seventh century Buddhist sculptures lost their popularity. Buddhism continued to flourish under the sympathetic Palakings of Magadha between the 11th and 12th centuries until the Muslim conquest and traces of it are found in many other parts of the country up to a late time, but Buddhist sculptures could no longer be revived. The medieval Buddhist statuary of Bihar became almost identical with that of Hindu sculptures and the two classes of objects are frequently confounded.

The mercantile and trading classes who formed the great stronghold of Buddhism seem to have turned to the allied Jain system, especially in central and southern India. Bundelkhand is full of Jain images of the 11th and 12th centuries, whereas Buddhist

remains of that period are rare. The colossal monolithic nude Jain statues of the south are among the wonders of the world. The Jina image at Śravana Belgola in Mysore is 57 ft. in height cut from a single block of gneiss. Similar images were erected in about 1432 at Yenur and Karkala in south Kanara. On the Parasnath Hill in Bihar the Tirthankaras are beautifully illustrated. According to the rules of the Śilpaśāstras the Jina images were marked by long hanging arms, Śrīvatsa symbol on the chest, and nudity. They were attended by Yaksha couple and Gandharva figures and had the marks of Svastika, mirror, book, flower, garland and two small fish. They had their own chawry-bearer and symbolic tree and Lāchana or some sort of animal vehicle like those of the Brahmanical deities.

These medieval figures belonging to the pantheon of the Buddhist, the Jain, and the Brahmanical mythologies exhibit a common ideal as they were executed in accordance with the common rules of the Śilpaśāstra. In all schools of sculpture this common ideal aimed at a spiritual expression rather than to exhibit an anatomical expression and physical strength. But the human and animal figures of the male and female are realistic and mostly point to the locality wherefrom they originated. Thus the sculptors dressed their figures in the costumes which were in vogue at the places, where they carved them. The ornamentation was, however, heavier in medieval figures than in the earlier ones. Excluding nose rings which are not seen at all, other ornaments include head gears, ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, finger-rings, waist bands, and anklets both for female and male figures. The female figures were also provided with Stanasūtra or jacket and bands to cover the bosoms, and various net ornaments for the feet. The contemporary manners and customs are illustrated in groups of sculptures representing marriage assemblies, political and social gatherings, funeral processions, feasts and festivals. Even the age of marriage is indicated by the immature bust and figure of the bride and bridegroom. The scene of Śiva's marriage carved on the inner wall of a cave in Ajanta shows Pārvatī as an immature girl. The domestic life is further illustrated by articles like pitchers, baskets, fans, umbrellas, lamp stands, caskets, bedsteads, seats, etc., which have been described elsewhere in detail.

For the study of social conditions sculptures are thus the most reliable evidence.

An orderly development of the Indian sculptures appears to have been due to guidance afforded by the compilation of the Śilpa-śāstras. The standard Śilpa-śāstra is known as the Manasāra, literally meaning the essence of measurement, which is a chief factor especially in sculpture. Manasāra has given elaborate details regarding architectural and sculptural measures. So far as sculpture is concerned two sets of measurement are suggested. One set includes six kinds of linear measurement, *viz.*, māna or the height of an image from the foot to the top of the head, pramāṇa or breadth, parimāṇa or the measure of circumference or width, lambamāna or the measurement by the plumb-lines drawn perpendicularly through different parts of the body, unmāna or the measurement of thickness or diameter and upamāna or the measurement of interspace as between two ears, two eyes, two arms, two feet, etc. The second set known as Ādimāna or primary measurement of images comprises six comparative measures and three absolute measures. In the former case the height of an idol is determined in proportion to the breadth of the main temple, height of the adytum, length of the door, the height of the pedestal, the height of the vehicle on which the idol is placed, and the worshipper to whose full height or up to the hair-limit on the forehead or eye-line an idol may reach or it may extend to the worshipper's nose-tip, chin, breast, heart, navel or sex-organ. The height of the vehicle or riding animal bears the same proportions with the idol. The absolute measure may be made in cubit, angula and tāla. The cubit of 24 angula or finger breadth of about 3/4 inch, the cubit of 25, 26 and 27 angulas being used in measuring larger objects like a building or a tower. The angula measure is either mānāngula or equal to 8 barley-corns; matrāngula is the breadth of the middle finger of the worshipper or image-maker, and dehalabdhaṅgula is the measure equal to one of the equal parts into which the whole statue is divided for sculptural measurement. Talamāna elaborates the bodily measurement; by this the face of the image itself is taken as the unit, and the height of the image is given certain complete multiples of this unit. The twelve tāla measure in which the height of the image is twelve-times its own face is prescribed for fiends, eleven tāla for supernatural

beings, ten tāla for Brahmanical gods, Buddha images and Jina images, nine tāla for goddesses and certain sages, eight tāla for men, seven tāla for women and demi-gods like Yakshas, etc., six tāla for tigers, lions, etc., five tāla for certain mythical beings, four tāla for goblins, etc., three tāla for Kinnaras, two tāla for birds, fish, etc., and one tāla for certain lower beings like rats, etc.

A Roman Architect Vitruvius of B. C. 25 commenting on these body proportions says "In truth they are as necessary to the beauty of a building as to that of a well-formed human figure, which nature has so fashioned that the face from the chin to the top of the forehead or to the roots of the hair is a tenth part of the height of the whole body. From the chin to the crown of the head is an eighth part of the whole height, and from the nape of the neck to the crown of the head the same. From the upper part of the breast to the roots of the hair a sixth, to the crown of the head a fourth. A third part of the height of the face is equal to that from the chin to the under-side of the nostrils and thence to the middle of the eye brows the same; from the last to the roots of the hair, where the forehead ends, the remaining third part. The length of the foot is the sixth part of the height of the body, the fore arm a fourth part, the width of the breast a fourth part. Similarly have the other members their due proportions by attention to which the ancient painters and sculptors obtained so much reputation." The *Mānasāra* has elaborated 154 proportions in the ten tāla system. Vitruvius has further referred to circular and square measures of a well-proportioned human figure. "The navel is naturally placed in the centre of the human body and if in a man lying with his face upward, and his hands and feet extended from his navel as the centre a circle be described, it will touch his finger and toes. It is not alone by a circle that the human body is thus circumscribed, as may be seen by placing it within a square. For measuring from the feet to the crown of the head, and then across the arms fully extended, we find the latter measure equal to the former, so that the lines are at right angles to each other, enclosing the figure will form a square".

'So the ancients have with great propriety determined that in all perfect works each part should be

some aliquot part of the whole'. This direction appears to have been followed in all master pieces of Indian sculptures. 'Like every other canon of artistic proportion', says Vincent Smith, 'these methods are no more capable of producing works of art in unskilled hands than are any other aids or method. These śāstras are the common property of Hindu artisans, whether of northern or southern India'. Mr. Hadaway, a modern practising artist of great repute, recognizes the great importance of the rules of proportion followed by the Indian artists when he says that 'the Hindu image-maker or sculptor has a most elaborate and beautiful system of proportions, which he uses constantly, combining these with those observation and study of natural detail. It is in fact a series of anatomical rules and formulae, of infinitely more practical use than any European system which I know of, for the Indian one treats of the actual proportion and of the surface form rather than the more scientific attachment of muscles and the articulations of bones'.

Manasara has prescribed nine materials for making images which consist of gold, silver, copper, stone, stucco, terracotta, gravel or grit, wood and glass (abhāsa) which may be transparent, half transparent or partially transparent. The process of casting of the metallic images are fully described. 'If an image is to be made of metal, it must first be made of wax, and then coated with earth. Gold and other metals are purified and cast into the mould and a complete image is thus obtained by capable workmen.' To this direction of the Vishnu-saṁhita Manasara adds that if any of the minor limbs be lost through this process the image should be furnished with it again after having been heated, but if the head or the middle of the body be damaged the whole image should be changed.' These authorities show that the art of casting metal images in wax moulds had been known in India from very early times and Mr. Rao emphasises the point in his 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' when he says that 'in regard to bronze image it is believed by some that India could not have known the cire perdue method of making metal images earlier than about 10th century A. D. and that India must have therefore borrowed it from Europe but that this art was known in India much earlier can be shown in more ways than one'.

The images are stated to be carved as stationary

or movable, in erect, seated, or recumbent posture, and in the equipoise, three-flexioned, or excessive poise. Then follows a masterly classification of all varieties of images belonging to Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jain pantheon. Of the Brahmanical images Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva together with their respective consorts and animal vehicles are elaborately illustrated with minute details of proportionate measures, postures and poses, and ornamentation for the various limbs. Symbolic representation of Śiva and his consort in the form of Linga or phallus and Yoni or pedestal is referred to with a very large variety prevalent in different parts of the country. Goddesses as independent images are classified as Sarasvatī Sāvitrī, Lakshmi, Mahī, Manonmani (love goddess), Durgā, and seven Mothers, who are treated as dependent and comprise Brahmāni, Rudrāni as consorts of Brahmā and Śiva respectively, Vaiṣṇavi and Varāhi as consorts of Vishnu.

The Jain deities include the twenty four Tirthankaras carved in purely human shape but completely nude having no robe or ornament excepting a Śrīvatsa symbol marked in gold on the chest. They have no consorts but they are attended by Nārada, and other sages and Yakshas, Vidyādhara, Siddhas, Nāgēndras, Lokapālas, etc., and have besides the animal vehicles and particular trees or plants as their symbols.

The images of Buddha are associated with ficus religiosa representing the Bodhi tree and furnished with ushnisha or protuberance; for the rest the appearance of the Buddha is purely human. Boddhi-sattvas which became rare from the 4th century, about when the *Maṇasāra* was published, are not mentioned at all.

The usual human images are described under the sages comprising Agastya, Kāśyapa, Bhrigu, Vasishṭha, Bhārgava, Viśvamitra, and Bhāradvaja. They are, however, robed in sagely garments and attributes but bear the completely human proportion of seven, eight and nine tala. The devotees or worshippers of the Śalokya, Samīpya, Sarūpya, and Sayujya groups are also described fully.¹

1 Śalokyas want to reside in the same world where the supreme god is, Samīpyas want to be beside the god, Sarūpyas want to have the same features as the god, and Sayujyas want to lose their identity and become united with the god.

By way of describing the vehicles of chief deities a full sculptural description is given of the Goose, the Garuda bird, the Bull and the Lion together with iconographic details.

The thrones and crowns prescribed for the images of gods and goddesses, and kings of nine ranks and of their queens are fully described. Thrones for the divine occupants include the well known Padmāsana, Padma-keśara, Padma-bhadra, Padmabandha, Pada-banīha, Śribandha, Śribhadra, Śriviśṣa, Śrimukha, Bhadrāsana and Simhāsana. These indicate different designs and the number of gems inset in them. Similarly the royal thrones are described under four categories comprising Prathama or primary, Vira or heroic, Mangala or auspicious, and Vijaya or victorious. The various head-dresses suggested for the gods, goddesses, kings and queens include jāta, mauli, kirita, karanda, śiras-trāṇa, kuntala, keśa-bandha, dhammilla, alaka, chada, and paṭṭa which has three varieties, viz. patra or leaf, pushpa or flower, and ratna or jewel pattern.¹ Most of these can be verified from the existing sculptures and paintings.

The bodily ornaments referred to elsewhere also include, in addition to the crown, chudāmapi or crest jewel, śirovibhūṣaṇa or any head ornament, kuṇḍala or ear-ring, tāṭaṅka or ear band, makara-bhūṣaṇa or ear-pendent, kankāna or bracelet, keyūra and kaṭaka for upper armlet, valaya for arm-root and fore arm, maṇi-bandhana-kalāpa or net ornament for the back of the palm, kinkini or little bells for anklet and bracelet, finger rings, strings of pearls, garlands and necklaces of various kinds, chord or chain round the female bosoms, chain round the chest, girdle round the waist, chain round the loins, belt, bodice or cuirass, anklet, bracelet, and the net ornament worn on the feet. All these may be verified from the Elora sculptures and Ajanta paintings.

Sculptures like architectural objects were a

¹ For illustrations see the writer's Encyclopedia of Hindu architecture where patterns are reconstructed after the description of Manasāra which may be seen on images in the South Indian temples referred to above.

fascinating subject to the Indian mind. It has been thus thoroughly analysed in technical and general literature and extensively illustrated from the beginning of idol worship. Both sculpture and architecture are manly arts and boldly executed in gigantic forms and made such a remarkably unique progress in India.

PAINTING

In comparison with sculpture painting is a finer but weaker art. The former is more manly while the latter is more womanly. Painting brush is more suited to the delicate hand of a woman. More strength and skill are required to handle a chisel in order to carve a piece of stone into an accurate and artistic image. It appears that sculpture as an art was more popular and dignified. The result has been the numerous objects of which a brief survey has been given above. But as a fine art ancient literature has frequently mentioned painting and there are a few texts dealing with the subject although their number is much less than those dealing with sculpture and architecture.

Like the golden image of Sita the *Ramāyana* of about B. C. 1000-600 refers to painted halls. The *Jātaka* stories of about B. C. 600-500 include more detailed references to painting. The *Mahābhārata* starting from B. C. 500 refers to the Princess Ushā's maid Chitralekha, who painted the portraits of all the contemporary young princes so that her mistress could recognise Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna, whom Ushā saw in dream without being able to recognise her lover. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* of about B. C. 300 refers to the pleasure house of king Pāsānada containing *chittagāra* or picture halls. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* tells us of the mural painting decorating the relic chamber of the Ruwanwālī dagaba of about B. C. 150. Vatsyāna's *Kāmasūtra* dated about the 3rd century A. D. refers to painting not only as a fine art but also mentions drawing-panels, paints and brushes for painting. About this time Bhāsa in his play, the *Swapna-Vāsavadattā*, has referred to the life-like portraits of the king and Vāsavadattā. The *Śilpa-śāstra* like the *Chitra-lakṣhaṇa*, *Śilpa-ratna* and others devote some chapters dealing with painting.

These texts as well as the Vishnūdharmaottara which is an appendix to the Vishnu-purāṇa, can hardly be dated beyond 500-600 A. D. The latter text refers to the charming portrait of the nymph Urvāśi and gives definite directions regarding the art of painting. About the same time is dated the Śakuntalā, drama of Kālidāsa, in which the hero King Duśhyanta is stated to have painted the portrait of the heroine Śakuntalā whom he had deserted in consequence of a curse. In about the sixth century A. D. Bhavabhūti in his drama Uttararama-charita presented Rama and Sita at the outset of the play as examining numerous scenes with life-like reality of their banished life in different parts of India and Ceylon of which the paintings had been newly executed.

It is quite evident from the literary evidences that painting was not so much exclusively ecclesiastical, but mostly secular, and practised by amateurs. It was a social accomplishment at least among princes and ladies of the court or noble families as stated by Vatsīyana in his Kāmasūtra which prescribes the necessary accomplishments in 64 fine arts. Portraiture from memory-image was the earliest and the most popular form of painting in ancient India.

The beginning of painting is closely connected with writing. Rekṣā or line drawing might have been the precursor of lekṣā or writing, which is the symbol of thought expressed in alphabet. The origin of writing in India was once traced to the Phoenician merchants who had learnt it from the Semites in the 9th century B. C. But this theory is now exploded as the writing in Mohenjodaro Sign manuals is ascribed prior to B. C. 3000. The archaeological remains of ancient portraiture will corroborate the Mahenjodaro discoveries.

The hunting scenes, crudely drawn on the walls of a group of caves in the Kaimur range, belong to a time earlier than the Sign manuals of Mohenjodaro of about B. C. 3000. Similar crude drawings of hunting scenes graphically portrayed depicting human beings and animals like stags, elephants and horses on a series of caves in the hills near Singhanpur east of the Mand river must also be ascribed to the pre-Mohenjodaro period. Drawings of hunting scenes and wild animals on a number of caves in the Mirzapur district of U. P. belong

to a remote antiquity. These early drawings have, however, no claim to the real art of painting. But they do indicate the beginning of the art which developed later quite independently of any foreign influence. Drawing, it should not be overlooked, is the first step which the painters adopt in portraying a scene, the other two elements of painting being colouring and expression.

Remains of fully developed paintings have been discovered on the walls of the Jogimara cave of the Ramgarh hill in Sirguja state. They are assigned to the third century B. C. on account of certain inscriptions in Brahmi character of that century and also because they resemble the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut of that age. The scenes portrayed include a male figure seated under a tree with dancing girls and musicians, a procession of elephants, sundry geometrical patterns, traces of flowers, trees, animals, and nude human figures, a horse with the chaitya pattern of windows, a chariot drawn by three horses and surmounted by an umbrella, rows of fishes, sharks, crocodiles and other aquatic animals.

The celebrated frescoes of Ajanta caves are dated between the second and the seventh centuries. Traces of paintings on the walls, ceilings and pillars were found in 1879 on some sixteen out of twenty-nine caves at Ajanta in the Hyderabad state, Deccan. But by 1910 many of these traces vanished and since then only six caves, viz. nos. I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII have retained the wonderful paintings. Of these caves I and X represent the earliest period from about 50 to 350 A. D. when the later Andhra kings were ruling in the south and Kushans in the north. The second period of these paintings from 350 to 550 A. D. is represented mostly by caves XVI and XVII and partly by cave X also. The third and most important scenes, dated between 550 and 650 A. D., are contained mostly in caves I and II and also in cave XVII. During the second period the Vakataka kings were ruling in the south and the Guptas in the north. The third series may be assigned to the time of the Chalukyas in the south and of the later Guptas and king Harshavardhana of Kanauj in the north. The Ajanta paintings do not, however, show much direct royal patronage except that the chaitya halls and other Vihara caves must have been financed by royalty as they could

hardly be carved out of rock by the Buddhist monks who were obviously the painters of these wonderful caves. The Vakataka inscription in cave XVI suggests the patronage of the kings of that dynasty.

In the first period also the paintings appear in an advanced state of development. Some of them closely correspond to the Sanchi sculptures. The style of the drapery and the nimbus of the Buddha picture on the pillars of cave X reminds the sculptures of Mathura and Gandhara schools. The Buddhist pictures were painted primarily for the edification of the Buddhists and not as mere adornments, and the subjects are confined with perhaps one exception to those drawn from the Buddhist mythology or legends. Among them representations of twelve Jatakas have been identified. Others deal with the well known traditional incidents of his life on earth, among which the picture of the Temptation in cave XVI may be specially mentioned. The picture of the zodiac in cave XVII is read by some as representing the Buddhist doctrine of the wheel of life. The coronation scenes in the same cave is very impressive because of numerous remarkable patterns of ornaments. Cave II also exhibits Indraloka scenes and the great miracle at Sravasti. The narrative style of cave XVII renders it as truly remarked by Percy Brown in his *Indian Painting* "literally a picture gallery illustrating some of the most engrossing episodes in the life of the Buddha". These pictures are full of action and replete with vigour. The art of painting appears here in its most graphic form.

An impressive picture of the Buddha depicted in cave I appears to have influenced the Buddha sculptures of Barabudur stupa dated about 850 A. D. Some scenes in cave II also influenced contemporary painting of Khotan¹ as revealed by Stein and Le Coq, and the more recent paintings of Tibet where the walls of the monasteries and temples are largely decorated with frescos illustrating various aspects of Buddhist religion. The Tibetan temple banners too have their resemblance. Percy Brown and others have also recognised some

1 Percy Brown in his plate 4 of the *Indian Painting* has shewn that the work at Dandan Uiliq around Khotan "might have been from the brush of one of the Ajanta painters, the similarity is so marked".

Persian and Chinese features. 'In the gifted hands of the Chinese artist the Ajanta style reached the high standard achieved by the founders of the paintings of the Tang dynasty. The frescos at Sigiriva in Ceylon during the reign of Kasyapa I (479-497) comprising representation of some twenty females and those at Bagh in the Gwalior state, though inferior, seem to have been influenced by the contemporary paintings of the caves XVI and XVII at Ajanta. The scene representing the musical drama, *Hallsika*, may serve as an illustration'. The Indian influence over such a wide area is ascribed to the influence of the Guptas whose diplomatic relations reached from Oxus to Ceylon.

It is possible to discover in the wall frescos and pictural scrolls of Khotan at an early date and in Tibet at a later period *the course the Indian painting pursued during this medieval period. The process of time, in the case of Tibet, has transformed and conventionalized the art but nevertheless it may be accepted as direct descendant of the original Indian Buddhist school of painting.'

Among the Ajanta paintings secular scenes are numerous and more attractive. A charming scene in cave I illustrates the Darbar of the Chalukya king Pulakesin II (610-654) where was received an embassy from the Persian monarch, Khusru Parviz (626-628) with all the royal pomp and show. The peoples of different countries almost all over the then known world were represented in their various national dress. These include European, Chinese and typical Turkish caps. The association with Persia is suggested by other scenes also. Another historical scene is represented in cave XVII showing the landing of Vijaya Sen in Ceylon. It contains many beautiful scenes of beasts etc. A battle scene is also represented in the eastern wall of cave I. In another scene in cave I a couple of lovers are beautifully painted. In cave XVII two beautiful girls are represented peeping through a lattice window. Cave X represents a procession of men on foot, and on horseback variously armed; in the middle is shown a prince together with eight female attendants. The toilet scene in cave II shows a fashionable lady attended by many attendants engaged in dressing the hair and other decoration.

The picture of the dying princess in cave XVI is considered to be the best piece of painting now remaining at Ajanta. Griffith describes it in picturesque language—"The dying woman, with drooping head, half closed eyes and languid limbs, reclines on a bed. She is tenderly supported by a female attendant, while another with eager gaze is looking into her face and holding the sick woman's arm as if in the act of feeling her pulse. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety, as she seems to realize how soon life will be extinct in one she loves. Another female behind is in attendance with a fan, whilst two men on the left are looking on with the expression of profound grief depicted in their face. Below are seated on the floor other relations who appear to have given up all hope, and to have begun their mourning, for one woman has buried her face in her hands and apparently is weeping bitterly."¹

"For pathos or sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story, this picture, I consider", asserts Griffiths, "cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing, and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it". Commenting upon this high appreciation Vincent Smith says that 'this is high praise but not without justification'. The aesthetic merits of the Ajanta paintings have been appraised by Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Griffiths, both of whom compare the later pictures at Ajanta dating from the early seventh century at the latest with the work of Italian artists in the fourteenth century. Vincent Smith concludes by emphasising the fact that the Ajanta paintings undoubtedly deserve attention on their merits as works of art, and not merely as curiosities or pictures of manners.

"The Ajanta artists treated women like flowers. Garlands of girls surround the Rajas and the Princes, embellish the palaces, dominate the street scenes, and crown the windows of houses. They painted women at the toilet, in repose, gossiping, sitting and standing. They reproduced every turn of her head, every curve of her form, every glance of her eye. Everywhere the woman is beheld like the full-blown rose in its pride and

1 See plate appended (from Griffith I. A. iii, 27).

perfume, nowhere like the trampled lily.' Thus everywhere woman was the finest achievement and obviously the most admired theme.

A practising artist, Sri Apurva Prakas, quotes from Percy Brown and remarks that 'the treatment of the line in Ajanta frescos is so accurate and experienced that by its varying quality and sympathetic utterance it embodies modelling, value, relief, fore shortening and all other essential elements of painting'. Another practical painter asserts that 'the general process of Ajanta artists was to represent their group figures as light mass against a darker back ground. They were well aware of the importance of attracting to the features of their subjects and they unobtrusively obtained the desired result by the use of an emphatic black in the hair, thus framing the face, a plan which adds not a little to the animated character of some of the figures'.

Of the other technical treatment of the Ajanta paintings Griffiths says authoritatively that the ground work, which appears to be composed of cow-dung with an admixture of pulverized trap, was laid on the roughish surface of the rock to a thickness varying from a quarter to half an inch. To increase the binding properties of this ground rice husks were introduced in some instances especially in the ceilings. Over this ground was laid the intonaco of thin, smooth plaster, about the thickness of an egg shell upon which the painting was executed. This thin coating of plaster overlaid everything, the mouldings, the columns, the ornamental carving, and the sculptures and enough remains to show that the whole has been closed. The preservation of the Ajanta paintings is largely due to the adequately protected surface of the imperishable rock.

No light was possible within the dark caves. A wonderful device was made to have by reflection on mirror or white cloth the sun light which was regulated in order to illuminate the various parts of walls and ceilings which are not visible even now without some strong light.

The celebrated historian Taranath has classified and traced the origin of Indian painting from an early time. He refers to three early styles. The Deva style is stated to have been practised in the country of Magadha including U. P. from the 6th century B. C. to the 3rd century B. C. The Yaksha style was practised in

Rajputana from the 3rd century B.C. which he associates with king Asoka. And the remains of Naga style from the 3rd century A. D. are traced in the Eastern countries including Bengal, though the traces of the Naga race are found in India 'from Kashmir to Madras because the stupas of Amaravati shows distinct Naga influence'. Percy Brown has located the Western school in Rajputana because 'the principal artist Śringadhara, was born in Marwar in the reign of king Śīla who was probably Śīladitya Gohila of Udaipur of the 7th century A. D. The paintings of this school much resembled those of the Yaksha school. The Yaksha style is the Middle country school of painting which covers the United Provinces. It is stated to have been founded by a great painter and sculptor, Bimbisara, who was born in Magadha in the reign of a king, Buddhapaksha, of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. Taranath remarks that the painters of this school were very numerous and that the style resembles the early works of Devas. The Eastern school of the Nagas is stated to have flourished in Varendra (Bengal) under the kings, Dharmapala and Devapala, of the ninth century A. D. Dhiman and his son Bitpala were the most famous artists of the Eastern school and they both appear to have been equally proficient in painting, sculpture and metal work. He makes a brief reference to painters in the south also and mentions the artists Jaya, Purajasa and Vijaya'.

The essentially realistic character of all these three styles has been correctly inferred by Percy Brown and others from the statement of Taranath that 'the works of the Devas, Yakshas, and Nagas for many years deceived men by their reality. In former days human masters, who were endowed with miraculous power, produced astonishing works of art. It is expressly stated in the Vinayagama and other works that the wall paintings, etc., of these masters were such as to deceive by their likeness to the actual things depicted.

While architecture and sculpture made a remarkable progress from the seventh century onwards as shown elsewhere the art of painting deteriorated since then. This may be ascribed to certain historical incidents.

Percy Brown remarks that 'from the time that the last (Buddhist monk) painter at Ajanta threw down his brush in 650 A. D., until we come into contact with the art again as it was revived in the reign of the Mogul

emperor, Akbar, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the story of painting remains, to all intents and purposes, a blank. This dark age of painting can hardly be ascribed only to the unsettled political conditions. Nor is it possible to agree with Mr. Dutt from whom Percy Brown quotes to show that during the period from 800 to 1200 A. D. there were no great kings or dynasties, no empire and no notable works of art. Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas had their empires and great works of sculpture and architecture were produced in this period. This dark age of painting might have been due to the lack of popularity for this feminine art and the vigorous life the people had to live when the Muslim invasion commenced since the 8th or 9th century. Every body had to struggle for existence of national culture despite internal feud and disunion much like as the Indians feel and act after the second world war. Thus the Buddhist monks who produced the wonderful Ajanta paintings in their retired and secluded life disappeared in order to take part in the national movement. In this frame of mind people would by their habit take to more vigorous arts of sculpture and architecture which indeed prospered much more in this period than in the preceeding or succeeding periods.

The faint effort of this period is reflected in the paintings preserved in a few places. The Bagh caves in the Gwalior state bear striking resemblance to the later frescos of Ajanta and might have been drawn by the Ajanta painters as the distance between these places is only 150 miles. The subjects of the Bagh paintings are of mixed order, religious and secular. The preserved fragments show that the majority belong to the later group and include scenes like a stately procession of horsemen and elephant riders which are of great beauty.

Some traces of Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahmanical paintings may also be found at the rock cut temples at Ellora, Aurangabad, in the Nizam's dominions and the so-called Pandava gumpas at Nasik. The ceiling of the main cave at Elephanta near Bombay still preserves traces of the original painting. In about 634 A. D. Pulakesi II of the Chalukya dynasty annexed Elephanta. Thereafter the Chalukyas and Yadavas occupied it, the latter being overthrown by Alauddin Khilji in 1294 A. D. Two Pala palm leaves of the 11th

century contain illustrations of mural paintings like those of the Tibetan and Nepal banners. Buddhist deities are painted in the palm leaves of Ashṭasahasrika Prajñā-parimita belonging to the Palas and Nepal kings. At Nepal the palm leaves also bear the scenes of four episodes of the Vessantara Jataka, a banner illustrating Kāpisa and Pīṇapatra Avadanas and Gajendra moksha.

Gujarat works include illustrations from the Jaina texts. Jaina paintings of the 11th century are also found on the walls and ceilings of temples at Tirumalai. One of them is a wheel divided into twelve compartments each filled by a crowd of worshippers mostly men. One compartment contains twelve robed nuns. Another is occupied by oxen, elephants, leopards adoring the deities.

Brahmanical paintings of the latter centuries are found at temples in Kanchi and Trivandrum. At the former place the Karmakshi and Vantharaja Perumal temples are decorated with geometrical patterns, floral devices, and a male archer mounted on an elephant. In the latter place temple walls contain illustrations from the Epics, like the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata.

During the Mogal period 1550—1800 A. D. Akbar introduced in India the style of painting from Samarkhand and Herat where it originally flourished under the Timurid kings. During the reign of Shah Jehan Moghal painting started declining and deteriorated under the unsympathetic rule of Aurangzeb and lingered under the Nawabs of Oudh until the end of the 18th century and ceased to exist with the advent of the British rule. Emperor Akbar ruled at a time when India was prepared for an artistic revival. Percy Brown adds correctly that architecture and industrial arts of the age bear witness of his (Akbar's) judicious encouragement while the subject of painting received his special attention. The famous Persian painters like Farrukh and Kalmak, Abd-al-Samad the Shenazi and Mir Sayyad Ali of Tabriz came to the Moghal court. A few artists from Samarkhand also came to the court of Jehangir. Vincent Smith quotes extensively from Abdul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* to show that the Indian painters of much greater ability guided the development of Moghal painting in India—'His Majesty from his earliest youth has shown a great predilection for the art (of painting). Hence the

art flourishes. The works of all painters are weekly laid before his Majesty; he then confers rewards according to the excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art whilst the number of those who approach perfection or of those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them.'

The famous Hindu painters at the court of Akbar include Basawan, Daswanth, and Kesudas who worked side by side with the foreign artists and their adaptability was recognised by Akbar to such an extent that they were commissioned to illustrate the works of the Persian poet, Nizami and other literary productions, usually foreign to their genius. Thus 'one style speedily influenced the other, that each community was ready to profit by the other's experience, and under these mutually responsive condition it is only natural that a combination of the two modes was the final result'.

The subjects of the Moghal painting are largely drawn from incidents connected with the magnificent court life of the time. Realism is its key-note. The outstanding feature is its devotion to the delineation of likenesses. But in scale the Moghal picture is small 'never attaining the dignity and size of the Buddhist frescos'.

The miniature painting of the Persian origin was replaced during the rule of Jehangir when the Europeans were beginning to reach the Moghal capital by "portraiture and hunting scenes, unusual flowers, rare animals faithfully reproduced, portraits of Europeans obviously facsimiles of occidental paintings and pictures illustrating incidents in connexion with Christianity. Under Shah Jehan architecture reached its zenith, the robust character of earlier painting declined, artistic handling became less vigorous and there was an increased sense of richness and luxury in colouring and composition". During Aurangzeb the art of painting "ceased to receive the all important stimulus of royal patronage, and accordingly languished." One or two families of artists eventually settled at Patna. It

revived slightly at Lucknow under the Nawabs of Oudh at the end of the 18th century but 'the work was very inferior'. During the 19th century what remained of the art became influenced by European pictures, especially miniatures. Several of the hereditary artists quickly adopted their style to suit the taste of the "John company" merchants and executed in a semi European fashion their miniature portraits in the manner of the west. Percy Brown correctly concludes that "originally in the atmosphere of imperial state its existence depended largely on aristocratic patronage and when this was withdrawn the end came."

From the 17th century the true indigenous school of Hindu painting is represented by the Rajput and Pahari style including the Kangra valley branch. It is "essentially Hindu in expression, indigenous in many respects and a direct descendant of the classic frescos of Ajanta. A period of political confusion for about 200 years followed the close of the Ajanta paintings of which no concrete records of painting exist. The Rajputs who are the descendants of a branch of the Indo-Scythians of the first century A. D., and who lingered on as ancient kings of Gujerat, rose in the ninth century and held sway over the greater part of Northern India. Traces of their fresco painting are seen in the medieval India. Traces of this are found in Bikanir, Jodhpur and Udaipur, the homes of the Rajput princes where it is a living craft to this day. These old examples indicate much individuality but are mainly decorative and include elements betokening Persian and Chinese association. They may be regarded, however, as a visible connecting link between the classic style of the Buddhist, and the later work of the Rajputs. "Delhi, Agra and Lahore, all maintained at different times during the 17th century their local styles of painting much of which was Rajput in its character. No true examples of Rajput painting earlier than the reign of the emperor Akbar have been, however, preserved but only a few historical references to the art previous to this period are on record." When the Arab invader Muhamad Kasim was invading Sindh at the beginning of the 8th century a chronicle relates that a deputation of Hindus came to ask if they might paint portraits of him and some of his officers. This points to the existence of painters if not the paintings

in the century following the Ajarta paintings. The revival of Hinduism commencing in the 4th century with the reign of Samudragupta 'brought with it a new order of things—changes in faith and practice'. The mythological literature represented by the 18 great Purāṇas which stimulated the worship of personal god and use of idols, the picturesque ritual, temple processions, feasts and festivals came into being from the 4th century A. D. The two great sects of Vishnu and Śiva became crystalized and two types of temple were lavishly adorned with the most elaborate sculptures representing human and superhuman forms. Hosts of artisans flourished to manufacture many varieties of ceremonial implements and utensils, innumerable attributes and accessories of gods and temple fittings and furniture. But the trend of this artistic feeling was expressed in architecture, sculpture and numerous industrial arts rather than in the delicate and feminine art of painting which is generally practised by easy going people and in peaceful time through the royal and ecclesiastical patronage.

Nevertheless the traditions of painting were maintained although somewhat indistinctly during these long years of political unsettlement. Moghals brought about more peace and confidence than the Pathans; at least the people became more used to and resigned to the foreign rule of the Moghals. Thus the indigenous painting introduced by the Rajputs flourished following the Moghal painting. When the Moghal court ceased to patronise since the time of Aurangzeb families of painter fled to Patna and other places as stated above. Certain families of Rajput painters took shelter in the retreat of the Kangra valleys, Nurpur, Basohli, Jammu and Chamba were the homes of these painters. Thus 'the most virile offshoot of the Rajput school manifested itself in a group of small states in the Punjab and Himālayas. Kangra painting reached the highest development under the Katoch Rajas, particularly Sansarchand in the latter part of the 18th century. This Pahari (Hill) Painting, although "distinct in all other characteristics" resembles the miniature order of the Moghal school of the same period. This painting was produced under the patronage of the reigning princes at whose order the artists painted portraits of aristocracy in large numbers. The Raja of Chamba was often depicted with his Rani

and heir apparent. There is also a long series of picture illustrating the mythological and religious scenes of the Hindus relating in particular the Krishna cult which developed at Mathura, Brindavan, Govardhan and the neighbouring places concerning Krishna, Radha, cowherds, etc. Portraiture, however, was the special feature of the Hill Rajput type of painting. "These likenesses are almost invariably executed in profile". Delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour and minuteness of decorative detail are considered by Percy Brown and others as the remarkable features of this painting. But Percy Brown comments that "it is an art of patient labour and naive devotion and Pahari painting does not devote great inspiration or display any decided expression of thought or feeling".

In the 19th century Pahari painting extended to the Sikh court at Lahore and Amritsar, and numerous Sikh nobilities were painted in Kangra style. Thereafter it declined rapidly till April 4, 1905 when an earthquake struck and the prosperous town of Kangra was reduced to a mound of ruins. The catastrophe killed the art and artists and 'with it the last phase of the true indigenous school of painting in India came to end'.

On the break up of the Moghal empire the British administration was established in the latter half of the 18th century. Unlike the Muslim the British conquest has been more scientific and less perceptible and aggressive. Besides law and order was more firmly established. And an easy going land holders class and a well paid and highly devoted civil service came into being. Vested interests were ingeniously created and vast majority of the population forgot the existence of an alien government and the cultural conquest. And foreign influence in all spheres of life took root. Macaulay's open suggestions to convert Indians to British mode of life were resented by some thinkers but in practice they have been followed.

Thus a number of artists still carried on their profession but their products were largely degenerated. The Muslim painters of Delhi continued to produce representations of the members of the Moghal dynasty and conventional likenesses of no great artistic merit. At the beginning of the 19th century the Lucknow artists practised a style of painting "manifesting some

of the attractive qualities of the old school, but unfortunately much impregnated with bad European influence. Portraiture was the main theme, and the actual likenesses were often successfully rendered. But the accessories indicate an ostentation and a want of taste. Executed with all the technical care of the medieval miniatures of the last period, they are spoilt by the vulgarity of their setting and the strained and debased treatment of the whole conception. Similarly at Patna painters produced miniature portraits in a semi-European manner at the encouragement of the John Company or European merchants and Anglo-Indians".

In the Punjab also, particularly at Lahore and Amritsar, Rajput painters produced at the end of the 19th century work showing a strange mixture of the East and West. Percy Brown refers to the work of Kapur Singh who painted a large number of figure subjects miniature in size.

In South India artists who probably came from the North practised at this time a Persian style. The earlier examples 'denote Timurid origin, but later the work evinced a character similar to the Moghal painting in the Delhi style'. But the works at Aurangabad and Daulatabad in the 18th century are smaller than the northern work and lack in breadth, while their subject matter is generally semi historical being associated with the various rulers of Deccan. These painters still survive at Hyderabad and Nekonda.

Southern painters of distinctly northern origin and of Hindu style formed little later two schools of Tanjore and Mysore. Tanjore school of artists of the Rajput style flourished during the reign of Sivaji (1683-1695) and there were eighteen families of painters "all doing excellent painting on ivory and wood". They also produced large portraits in oils, some actual life size, a collection of which may be seen in the Tanjore palace and the old palace at Pudukottah. With the end of the dynasty of Sivaji the royal patronage ceased and the school dispersed. Most of the painters took up art handicrafts working as goldsmiths and makers of solapith. A few families still execute bazaar pictures subjects of which have little artistic merit, being embellished with much gilding and many paste gems but are thoroughly good in workmanship'.

The Mysore school of painters, like the Tanjore school, executed much portraiture of ivory and reached the highest development during the rule of Raja Krishna Wodeyar whose keenest delight encouraged the painters to compete one against the other in depicting some subjects selected by the ruler. On his death in 1868 this school became extinct. The style of painting introduced by Raja Ravi Verma in early nineteenth century also consisted of portraiture of the Maharashtra feature.

In the last decade of the 19th century a small but earnest group of Bangali Painters led by Abanindra Nath Tagore of the well known and talented aristocratic family have inaugurated a new school with the intention to resuscitate Indian painting and of rescuing it from the degradation into which it has drifted. Their policy appears to return to the point where the Indian painting began to lose its traditional character as it had been doing by assimilation of European elements. Thus they have been practising "the old historic painting of the past, the frescos of Ajanta and other places, the religious banners of Tibet and the miniatures of the best artists of the Moghal and the Rajput school. The subjects selected are largely illustrative of divine philosophy, as this is presented in the classical literature of the country. Scenes are taken from the writings of Kalidasa, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Gita and Puranas, and incidents of ancient Indian history." A great authority like Percy Brown appreciates their endeavour with high praise. "The work of the artists comprising this new school is not a slavish imitation of any of these historic styles, or a composite creation but is based on the whole on the contemporary productions displaying an originality which is a definite assurance of each individual's personal aspirations after a pre-conceived ideal. If each picture is regarded separately it is possible to detect traces of several influences—Japanese in this example or Persian in that—but taken as a whole the work of this movement manifests a genuine desire to express the highest mental conceptions of the artist by traditional methods".

He correctly suggests that "the study and practice of architecture together with the co-related arts of sculpture and painting appears in order that the movement may

develop a constructive character sufficient to sustain it in its course".

Proportion, symmetry, uniformity and harmony are the common elements in all objects of art proper as in the basic arts of architecture, sculpture and painting which regulate all other arts including even music, poetry, cookery, gardening, furnishing of houses and dressing and ornamenting of the body, etc. In objects of art as against craft the primary aim is to create beauty which, however, does not depend upon individual liking or disliking. One must have aptitude and education to discern and enjoy beauty. As in divine creation uniformity is not a matter of convention. God has created species of lower beings and races of men and women in certain form. If any one of a particular group looks unlike the other members he would lack in beauty. If a man or woman is dis-similar in proportion from his or her group there would be disproportion. If one eye is different from the other the symmetry would be disturbed and the beauty spoilt. Harmony supplies a synthesis. Three other elements of beauty being perfectly correct individually, may disturb their harmonious combination like a single discordant note in music. These four elements are applicable in all objects of arts as shown above from description of the basic-arts.

In the divine creations, showing great intelligence and skill, there is no room for ordinary craftsmanship by which something is produced that lacks in beauty, dexterity and art. When a sense of beauty is deliberately shown in the preparation of food, clothes, houses, etc., in addition to their utility, they will be objects of arts. Thus in fine art there must be a definite design and symbolic expression. In constructing an object of art it should not be defective in its design or at its birth. If like a craftsman's creation an object lacks in beauty at its origin no amount of decoration can turn it into an object of beauty. Lastly its naked or outline beauty must be enhanced by artistic ornamentation. The mere engineering skill is required to serve the utilitarian purpose only. For the love marriage the householder's utility takes the secondary place. Beasts of the forest require mates for the pleasure of multiplication. Romance of educated people needs mental and intellectual companionship in a greater degree than the physical one.



CHAPTER VI

PRACTICAL SCIENCES

The literature dealing with Hindu thoughts evoked among historians more enthusiasm than the scientific literature. This wrong notion was partly due to some preconceived prejudice that in this field, like all other ancient peoples of the world, Hindus also did not make much progress until Sir Brajendranath Seal's 'Positive sciences of the Ancient Hindus' and Sir P. C. Roy's 'Hindu-Chemistry' induced the modern scholars for the first time to undertake an investigation even in the field of medicine of which references are found in the earliest Veda. Similarly the works dealing with practical sciences like house-building, food-preparation, dress-making, manufacture of weapons, articles of furniture, ship-building, etc., received until very lately scanty attention of scholars and historians. References to arts and crafts and other practical sciences are, however, met with in the earliest literature of the world, viz. the Vedas. The aim of civilized life being epitomized in the dictum, Kāma, Artha, Dharma and Moksha, only a few texts under each of these four main heads have been brought out. Thus is available only an incomplete idea of the various subjects which must have been grouped under these main heads. Consequently the Kāmaśāstra is interpreted as the science of love, although it should include, as is indeed indicated in the Vātsyāyana's text, all the sixty-four or rather 528 arts each of which played an important part in Hindu life. Similarly the Arthaśāstra should refer not only to politics but also to all matters concerning the social and economic life of the rulers and the ruled. In the Dharmaśāstra we find an amalgamation of civil and religious laws, although the latter should have been confined to the field of Theology concerning the spiritual life alone, and the moral law should have been in the jurisdiction of the speculative thought as treated in the Darśanaśāstra on philosophy. "The Vedic literature, permeated as it is with religion, affords quite a false impression of the Vedic Indian as a person given to reflection and religious practices without regard to practical life. Nothing of course can be farther from

the truth". Two other objects must be added to the Dharma (religion and moral duty) which are treated in the Vedic texts. Already the Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya-sūtra knows of the three or four objects in life, *viz* Kāma (practical life in general not only sexual love), Artha (political economy), Dharma which is divided into two sections, namely, moral duty and religious practices leading to Moksha (salvation) and reflection as in philosophy. "The epic (Mahābhārata 1. 2. 381) recognizes this set, the Vishnu Smṛiti (lix. 30) and Manu Smṛiti accept it, it is found in Patanjali (11, 2, 34, vārttika 9), in Aśvaghoṣa and the Pāśchatantra."

These sciences, it should be noted, however, are expressed indiscriminately by three general terms, *viz*, Śāstra as represented by Kāmaśāstra, Vāstu-Śāstra, Jyotiṣa-Śāstra, Gaṇita-Śāstra, Artha-Śāstra, Dharma-Śāstra and others; Vidyā such as Dhanur-vidyā, etc., and Veda such as Āyurveda which deals with both medicine and surgery.

MEDICAL SCIENCE (ĀYURVEDA, VAIDYAKAŚĀSTRA)

The Āyurveda (science of life), also called the Vaidyakaśāstra (science of medicine and surgery) and styled as Tantras and Kalpas forms a part (upāṅga) of the Atharvaveda. Vedas show knowledge of Anatomy and embryology on which the medical art is based. The Āyurveda deals with eight principal topics, *viz*, major surgery, minor surgery, healing of diseases, demonology, child diseases, toxicology, elixirs, and aprodisiacs. The Vinaya Piṭaka and other Buddhist texts also show a wide knowledge of 'elementary medicine, surgical instruments, the use of hot baths and so forth.' The sage Ātreya is declared to have been the founder of the science. Compilations made by later writers are ascribed to this and other sages including Kāśyapa, Harita, Agniveśa, Bheda, and Bharadvāja. Buddhist tradition talks of Jivaka who studied under Ātreya and was an expert on child diseases. Chāṇakya is also credited with writing on medicine after his graduation from Taxila University.

The extant texts of early dates are, however, not numerous. The oldest Samhitā is ascribed to Charaka

who, according to tradition, was the physician of king Kanishka (third century), whose wife he helped in a critical case. This text is based upon a number of Tantras on special topics written by Agniveśa, a pupil of Punarvasu Ātreya and fellow student of Bheda. Charaka's compilation was revised by a Kashmirian Briddhabala (8th or 9th century) having added the last two chapters and written 17 out of 30 chapters of book VI. At an early date it was rendered into Persian and in 800 it was translated into Arabic. Written in prose interspersed with verses it is complete in eight sections (aṅgas). The first, Sūtrasthāna, deals with remedies, diets and duties of a doctor. The second, Nīdanasthāna, is concerned with the eight chief diseases. The third, Vimanasthāna, deals with general pathology and medical studies. It also contains regulations for the conduct of the new student who is to devote all his energies to the work, never to harm patients in any way. The fourth section, Śarīrasthāna, deals with anatomy and embryology. The fifth discusses diagnosis and prognosis. The sixth, Dharmasthāna, deals with special theology; the seventh, Kalpasthāna, and the eighth, Siddhisthāna, with general therapy (cure and treatment of diseases).

The equally famous author, Suśruta, son of Viśvāmītra as stated in the Mahābhārata, and contemporary of Ātreya and Harita as mentioned in the Bower Manuscript, was renowned beyond India, in Cambodia in the east and in Arabia in the west in the ninth century. Suśruta's Saṁhita was commented by Jaiyyata, Gayadaśa, and Chakrapāṇidatta supplemented by Dallana in the 13th century. It was revised on the basis of Jaiyyata's commentary by Chandraṭa.

Suśruta's Saṁhita also begins with a Sūtrasthāna which deals with general questions and incidentally mentions his teacher Divodāśa, an incarnation of Dhanvantari, physician of the gods. The second part, Nīdanasthāna, deals with pathology. The third, Śarīrasthāna, covers anatomy and embryology. The fourth, Chikitsāsthāna, deals with therapeutics (treatment of diseases). The fifth, Kalpasthāna, discusses toxicology. The remaining three sections are included in the Uttaratantra, a later addition, which supplements the work.

The Bhela Saṁhita contains the same divisions as the Charaka Saṁhita. It is not well preserved. The

extant portion is mainly in verses with a limited amount of prose. The manuscript discovered in 1890 at Kashgar, known as the Bower Manuscript (4th century) written in popular Sanskrit affected by Prakrit and dialect of Buddhist Sanskrit, cites Ātreya, Kshorapam, Jatukarna, Parāśara, Bheda, Harita, Charaka, and indirectly Suśruta Samhita. The portion devoted to medical science is divided into sixteen sections which give information regarding powders, decoction, oils, elixirs, aphrodisiacs and other recipes including a treatise on child diseases. In the first of its seven treatises one tract deals with garlic (*lasuna*) and its valuable qualities for prolonging life, a second gives also a recipe for an elixir to secure a thousand years of life, and discusses eye-washes and eye-solves with many other topics. Another text (iii) gives fourteen recipes for external and internal application, while great importance attaches to the *navanitaka* (cream).

The *Ashtāṅga-Saṁgraha* is ascribed to Vṛiddha (elder) Vāgbhata, son of Sinha Gupta and pupil of the Buddhist Avalokita. The *Ashtāṅga-hṛidaya-Saṁhitā* is ascribed to the younger Vāgbhata, probably a descendant of the older. The latter work, a century later, was translated into Tibetan. Both works cite Charaka and Suśruta including the *Uttaratantra*.

The *Rogaviniścaya* of Mādhavakara (8th or 9th century) is an important treatise on pathology. The *Siddhiyoga* of Vṛiddha-mādhava or Vrinda follows in its order of diseases that of the *Rogaviniścaya*, and provides prescriptions for curing a large number of ailments from fever to poisoning. On this work is based the *Chikitsā-sārasaṁgraha* (about 1060) of Chakrapāṇidatta, which is an important treatise on therapeutics. In 1224 Milhana wrote at Delhi the *Chikitsamita* in 2500 verses. To a Nāgārjuna are ascribed a *Yogasāra* and *Yogaśataka*. The *Saṁhitā* of Sarangadhara was commented on by Vapadeva, son of the physician Keśava and protégé of Hemadeva (about 300), who also wrote a *Śataśloki* on powders, pills, etc. Sarangadhara provides for the use of opium and quicksilver, and the use of the pulse in diagnosis. The later works, numerous and expansive, include Tishata's *Chikitsākalikā* (14th century), Bhava-Misra's *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th century) and Lombikarāja's *Vaidyajivana* (17th century). There are also numerous monographs on different kinds

of diseases including Surapāla's Vrikshayurveda on plant diseases.

There are numerous works dealing with the diseases of the domestic animals also. The Hastayurveda on elephant diseases is of uncertain date. The Mataṅgalīlā of Nārāyaṇa recognises Palakapya as the father of this science. The Aśvaśāstra dealing with horse-diseases is ascribed to the sage Salihotra and is known also as Aśvachikitsā, and Aśva-vaidyaka, and Aśvayurveda. The extant works of uncertain dates include Aśvayurveda of Gaṇa, the Aśva-vaidyaka of Jayadatta and Dimpankara, the Yogamañjarī of Vardhamāna and the Aśva-chikitsā of Nakula; the Salihotra of Bhoja treats in 138 verses of the care of horses and their diseases.

The extensiveness and importance of the medical science gave rise to medical dictionaries also. The extant works include the Dhanyantari Nighaṇṭu which is dated after Amarakośa, the Śabdapradīpa written for Bhīmāpāla of Bengal by Sureśvara in 1075, the Rājānighaṇṭu of Narahari is dated 1250 and the Madana-vinodanighaṇṭu of Madanapāla written in 1374 is "a comprehensive dictionary of materia medica".

The works on terms of dietics and cookery "include the Pathyāpathya-nighaṇṭu. There are numerous smaller works which discuss the qualities of things (dravyagūṇa) and form preliminary study for medical students. One of these is known as the Dravy-gūṇa-darpaṇa which discusses the food value of several things. Haritaki (Harrāh) for instance is stated to be 'as beneficial as the mother, but while mother resents at times, the haritaki once in the stomach (udarastha) never does any harm.'

In the field of medicine and of surgery the Hindu achievements equalled if not surpassed the Grecian attainments, which in certain respects are quite modern. "Greece, of course, borrowed from India the use of several medicinal plants" clearly showing Indian influence on Greek medicine. The origin of disease is traced to the derangement of three humours, viz. wind (vāyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (kapha) not only in all medical sciences but also in the Atharvaveda, and the Kauśikasūtra and is indicated by the Sāṃkhya system of three guṇas (sattva, rajas, and tamas). The influence of seasons on health was also recognized. The three

stages of fever and other disorders, the division of means of healing into hot and cold, or dry and oily; the healing of diseases by remedies of opposing character; the rules of etiquette and professional conduct exacted from doctors anticipated the modern development and imply a high standard of technical and moral achievement. Quotidian, tertian and quartan fevers are distinguished and consumption is prominently dealt with. The knowledge in regard to embryology is quite modern. "The doctrine of the simultaneous development of the members is held, the connexion of the male sex with the right side is noted, and a like cause is given for the production of twins; the viability or capability of living of an eight-month foetus is asserted; that of a seventh month is denied." The method of removal of a dead foetus is explained.

The achievement in surgery also was not a mean one. Both Charaka and Susruta give evidence of the knowledge of anatomy while mentioning the number of small bones and single bone. Dissection of human body is probably indicated thereby. Susruta has two chapters on surgical instruments and one on mode of operation. There was operation for stone. Haemorrhoids were properly dealt with. Blood-letting by use of leeches was practised. The use of the left hand to deal with the right eye in ophthalmology was known.

The high standard demanded from a doctor in the Susruta-Samhita is a clear evidence of Indian Culture in the field of medical treatment which concerned every members of the society. The admission of the medical student is based on the formal initiation of a youth as a member of the twice-born. "He is to keep purity of body and life. He is to treat, as if they were his kith and kin, holy men, friends, neighbours, the widow and the orphan, the poor and travellers". But it appears that bad people like hunters, bird-catchers, sinners and out-castes did not receive the same treatment. But Charaka emphasises that a medical student should "help patients even if his own life is at stake. He is never to entertain evil thoughts regarding the wife and goods of his patients; he is to devote himself in word, thought and deed to the healing of his charge, not to report outside the affairs of the house, and to be careful to say nothing to a patient likely to retard recovery".

CHEMISTRY (RASĀYANA)

The texts like *Dravya-guṇa-darpana* (mirror of the property of organic and inorganic things) refers to the knowledge and practice of the science of chemistry which developed, as in other countries, mostly in connexion with the medical treatment although there are topics which are non-medical in substance.

The *Rasāyana-sāstra*, literally the science dealing with the preparation of and effects of quicksilver (*rasa*) is a symbolic work on the preparation of drugs in general. The extant works, however, deals with elixirs to give perpetual youth, life for a thousand years, invisibility, invulnerability and other good things. The *Rasaratnākara* of Nāgarjuna is assigned to the 7th or 8th century, the *Rasārṇava* to about 1200 which refers to the *Rasahrīdaya* and the *Raseśvara-siddhanta*, the *Rasaratna-saṅgraha* of Vagbhāṭa or Aśvinikumāra or Nityanātha to 1300. There are *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha and a *Rasendra Chintāmani* of Rāmachandra, and a commentary on *Rasādhyāya* by Merutunga.

George Arthur in his 'Natural organic colouring matters' has mentioned that the Indian knew how to make lasting colouring of thread in blue and in red. Gold and steel are mentioned in the Vedas. The *Chhandogya Upanishad* refers to gold, silver, iron, tin and lead. In addition to these Kauṇilya mentions in his *Arthasāstra* mercury (*parada*). The *Rasārṇava* explains the modern methods of making metallic things. The manufacture of fine steel is shown by the use of the finest surgical instruments. Vagbhāṭa and Chakrapāṇi-datta have specified the method of making caustic alkali (*ugra kshara*). In his *Rasaratnākara* Nāgarjuna is credited with the discovery of the distillation (*pātana*) and calcination (*jāraṇa*). In the *Rasaratnākara* (12th century) processes are explained for making mercury (*parada*), copper pyrites (*makshika*), copper (*tāma*), and calamine (*rasaka*), etc. A little later text, *Ratna-samuchchaya*, supplies further knowledge of the chemical science in ancient India¹. The famous historian

1 There are numerous later texts on chemistry dealing with the various branches, viz. *Rasaratna Samuchchaya*, *Rasendra sara-saṅgraha*, *Rasendra chudāmani*, *Rasaprakāśa sudhākara*, *Rasendra kalpadruma*, *Rasamangala*, *Rasamrita*, *Rasasara*, *Rasa-manjuri*, *Rasa-*

Pliny has noted that the Indians knew from the 3rd century B. C. the process of making glass. Thus were made spherical (vritta) and oval (vartula) lenses out of glass.

The Ratnaśāstra deals with the examination of gems. Varāhamihira (5th century) discusses this subject in detail. There are other texts of unknown dates which include the Agastyamālā, the Ratna-parikshā of Buddha bhaṭṭa and the Nava-ratna-parikshā of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

PHYSICS (PADĀRTHA-VIDYĀ)

The knowledge of Physics is indicated by extensive references throughout Sanskrit literature to heat (tapa), rays (kirana), sound (śabda), magnetism (chaumbaka) and electricity (vidyut).

The instruments to measure the rainfall (vriṣṭi) and the officer (silādhyaksha) mentioned in the Arthaśāstra indicates the knowledge and practice of the science of Meteorology also.

The device of the first instrument to ascertain the correct directions by the magnetic needle is the further contribution of the Hindus to the physical sciences.

ASTRONOMY (JYOTISHA ŚĀSTRA)

Astronomy, with which Astrology and Mathematics (Gaṇita-śāstra) are closely connected, was required both for Vedic sacrifices (dharma) as well as for various needs of practical life (kāma). In the Jyotisha Vedāṅga preserved in two versions for the Yajurveda and Rigveda we find a calendar arranged on the basis of a five-year Yuga, with a 366 day year, and notices of the position of the sun and the moon at the solstices, and at new and full moon with regard to the Nakshatras. Some further development is found in works like the Garga-Saṁhitā of which only fragments are extant, the Vṛidda-Garga-Saṁhitā, Weber Ms. of Paṇḍikarasaḍin, the Nakshatras and other Paṇḍikarasaḍins of the Atharva Veda, the Paitamaha-Siddhānta recorded by Varāhamihira,

pradīpa, Rasayamālā, Rasa-kaumudī. Chemistry also forms part of medical and other texts like the Ashtāṅga-hṛīdaya, Jogachara-bhāmī śāstra, Rasa-nakshatra-mālā, Dhātu-ratna-mālā, Dhātu-kriyā, Bhava-prakāśa, Anka-prakāśa, samgadhara saṁgraha, etc.

the Jain *Sūrya-prajñapti*, the Epic, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Smritis* of *Parāśara* and others.

Varāhamihira (550-587) preserved in his *Pañcha-Siddhāntikā*, the contents of five *Siddhāntas*, viz. *Paitamaha*, *Romaka* (connected with Rome), *Paulisa* (probably associated with *Paulus Alexandrinus*), *Sūrya* (revealed by *Sūrya* to *Asura Maya*) and *Vasiṣṭha*. The *Romaka-siddhānta* of course need not be interpreted as an allusion to Rome, the knowledge probably came from *Alexandria* which was included in the Roman empire. The *Romaka-Siddhānta* adopts a non-Indian *Yuga* system, viz., the *Metonic* period of nineteen years multiplied by 150 which gives the smallest *Yuga* exactly divisible into integral numbers of lunar months and civil days, and it makes calculations for the meridian of *Yavanapura*. The *Paulisa Siddhānta* does not adopt a constant *Yuga* but operates with specially constructed short periods of time and gives the difference in longitude between *Yavanapura* and *Ujjain*. The *Sūrya-siddhānta* accepts the *Kalpa* system and operates with sidereal revolutions of the sun as in the *Paulisa Siddhānta* but unlike the tropical revolutions in the *Romaka-siddhānta*. "It alone gives a general rule for the equation of the centre, and its full treatment of eclipses conforms with the meagre rules of the *Romaka* and the rough formulae of the *Paulisa-Siddhānta*. The *Vasiṣṭha-siddhānta* like the *Paulisa* has taken some note of planetary anomalies, though exactly what is uncertain". None of these five *Siddhāntas* exist in their original form. A *Brahma-siddhānta* forms part of the *Vishnu dharmottara-purāṇa* on which *Brahmagupta's* *Sphuṭa Brahma-siddhānta* is based. The *Sakalya-siddhānta* presents the orthodox modern doctrine.

The *Romaka* was touched by *Lala* (about 505) and revised drastically by *Śrisena*. The *Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta* was first revised by *Vijaya-Nandin* before *Brahmagupta*, and then by *Vishnu-chandra*. The *Laghu Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta* is not connected with the original or the revision, and the *Vridhha Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta* in *Mss.* seems equally far removed. The extant *Sūryasiddhānta* in fourteen chapters of *Vanas* is modernised from the original possibly by *Lala*. The treatises of the famous *Āryabhaṭṭa* (476-499) of *Kusumapura* show great development in the field of Astronomy and Mathematics.

His extant works include his *Āryabhaṭīya* in the *Ārya-stanzas*, *Daśagitikasūtra* which mentions his numerical notation, and *Āryaśṭa-śata* of 108 verses which is divided into the section of *Gaṇita* (mathematics) in 33 verses, of *Kālakriyā* (measurement) of time in 25 verses, and *Gola* (sphere) in 50 verses. His other works are lost. He is commended for the brevity and elegance of his composition. 'His is the first work to show a distinct chapter on mathematics in relation to astronomy and the division of Astronomical topics was effective.' He held that the earth was a sphere and rotated on its axis, which was not approved by *Varāha-mihira* or *Brahmagupta*. He equated the four *Yugas* despite traditional difference of length. He ascribed eclipses not to the operation of *Rāhu* but to the moon and shadow of the earth. There was a second *Āryabhaṭṭa* who wrote the *Ārya-siddhānta* (about 550) which differs in its numerical notation from the earlier *Āryabhaṭṭa*.

The works of *Sīmha*, *Pradyumna* and *Vijayanandin* mentioned by *Varāhamihira* appear to be lost. The *Pañcha-siddhāntikā* of *Varāhamihira* is very important. He also declines to accept the conjunction of planets as explaining eclipses. Much more important was *Brahmagupta* of *Billamalla* near *Multan*, who wrote his *Sphuṭa-siddhānta* in 628, and in 665 he wrote the *Khaṇḍa-khāṇḍyaka*, a practical treatise (*karāṇa*) giving materials for astronomical calculation which was based on a last work of *Ārya-bhaṭṭa*. He is systematic and complete. He devotes one chapter to solving astronomical problems. *Lalla* came later and wrote the *Śiṣya-dhivridhhi-tantra* to increase the pupils' intelligence, which was commented on by *Bhāskara*. The *Rāja-mrigaśaka* (1042), a *Karāṇa* (practical) work, is ascribed to *Bhoja*, and the *Bhāvatī*, also a *Karāṇa*, to *Satananda* (1099).

The *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* of *Bhāskarācharya* (1150) is divided into four parts, *viz.*, the *Līlāvati* and *Bījagaṇita* (algebra) devoted to mathematics, the *Graha-gaṇita* on planets, and the *Gola* (sphere) dealing with astronomy proper. The *Gola* chapter contains a section on astronomical problems, a treatise on the astronomical instruments (? telescope, etc), and a description of the seasons. His *Karāṇa-kutuhala* with practical instructions dates from 1178.

Later came the more practical works like the tables

of Tithyūdipalin of Markaṇḍa (1478), and the Graha-lāghava of Ganeśa (1520). "The advent of Persian and Arabic influences has left Indian Astronomy unchanged, nor has it ever been extinguished by Western science" as declared by Professor A. B. Keith.

The unique achievements of the Hindus in Astronomy may be briefly summerized. Bhāskarāchārya took in consideration the minutest time known as *krati* equalling 34,000th part of a second. The Vedic sages knew that the Sun illuminates the Moon, and that the Moon comes back to the same position in its rotation after 27-28th day. The month was counted of 30 days after noticing the number 30 of the Sun rise from one full or new moon to another full or new moon. The year was counted of 365 days. But it was found out that 12 lunar months of 30 days each do not make up 365 days. Hence to maintain the accuracy between the lunar and the solar year they added a *mala-māsa* at every 3 years. That the rotation of the earth causes the distinction between the day and the night was first discovered by Āryabhaṭṭa (950). Nearly a 1000 years later Copernic discovered this in Europe. Āryabhaṭṭa, who knew the causes of the solar and the lunar eclipses, declared that the moon and other planets have no light of their own and are illuminated by the Sun, that these planets like the earth rotate round the Sun, and that their path of rotation is not circular but epicycle or ellipse (*dirghavritta*). The circular shape of the earth is established by Bhāskarāchārya by pointing that the dawn appears before the Sun rise. Bhāskarāchārya and Brahmagupta have fixed the diameter of the earth at 15.1 and 1600 *yojanas* respectively. Taking one *yojana* of 3200 cubits or $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles the diameter of the earth is 7905 miles, which approximate the modern calculation of 7918 miles. The aerial extent over the earth calculated as 12 *yojanas* or 55 miles is almost the same as the modern calculation of 50 miles. Long before the discovery of the centre of gravity by Newton (1642-1727) it was stated in the *Siddhanta-śiromani* of Bhāskarāchārya (1150) that heavy things fall on earth on account of earth-attraction (*mādhyaṅkarshaṇa*).¹

1 *Ā kṛishṭi saktiś cha mahātaya yat khaṣṭham guru svabhi mukham sva-saktya akrishyate tat patati iva bhāti.*

It, therefore, means that the earth, planets, stars, moon, and sun attract each other and owing to mutual attraction each remains to its own orbit.

ASTROLOGY

The basis of Astrology is the belief that the celestial bodies exercise influence on the fate of man. It is more easily noticed that the same influence causes the change of seasons, rainfall, storm, and the ebb-tide and flow-tide in the ocean. Thus it is not unlikely that the human body is similarly affected. How the human fate is determined by such influence is not fully explained. The belief that the future can be foretold from the aspect of celestial bodies is shared in other countries like Babylon, etc., also. The Brāhmaṇas and the Vedic Sūtras recognise the idea of a lucky star. Thus auspicious moment became early an important factor in the social, economic, political and religious functions. In marriage, in agriculture, industry, trade, commerce, and in war also the astrologer foretells the result from the signs.

A religious function is not effective if not performed in right time. A journey is inauspicious if not taken up in the right moment. A marriage proves unsuccessful if not contracted and performed at the right conjunction. The Dharmaśāstra prescribes for king's astrologers like Chaplains but the Arthaśāstra places them among the lower court functionaries. The Buddhists denounce the occupation as they do many other Hindu practices.

Of the numerous text-books of astrology the standard treatise of Varahamihira makes mention of the works of Asita Devala, Garga, Vriddha Garga, Narada and Parāśara, which exist in fragments only and of which the Vriddha Garga-Saṁhitā or Gargi-Saṁhitā (about 1st century B.C.) is the most famous containing prophetic prediction concerning the fate of all people of the world born in India and outside. Varahamihira in his Brihat-Saṁhitā divides the science of Jyotiṣa (astrology) into three branches, *viz.*, Tantra which serves as the astronomical and mathematical foundations, Hora which deals with horoscopes, and Saṁhitā which covers the sphere of natural astrology. He emphasises the importance

of astrology. He elucidates the effects of the movements of the sun, of the changes of the moon, its conjunction with the planets and eclipses. He describes several constellations and their powers on the fate of man. He mentions what lands, peoples, and things stand under the orgies of each planet. The planetary movements also determine the wars of kings, and each year owes its fortune or mishap to the planet which presides over it. He explains the signs of weather and how to foretell not merely the crop but the rise and fall of prices. The importance of astrology is emphasised in connection with architecture, the digging of tanks, the laying out of gardens and the making of images. In his *Brihat-vivāhapaṭala* the question of marriage is further discussed and his *Svalpa-vivāhapaṭala* further refers to this subject. He deals with the wars of kings in his *Yogayātrā* (marching out under favouring conditions). In his *Brihaj-jātaka* and *Laghu-jātaka* he further deals with the *Horā* which name like other terms was borrowed once from Greece.¹ There is a *Yavana-Jātaka* (old and new union) ascribed to *Minarāja Yavanācharya*.

MATHEMATICS

Mathematics comprising geometry (*jyāmiti*), algebra (*bija-gaṇita*) and arithmetic (*gaṇita* or *ankaśāstra*) are direct descendants from Astronomy. The origin of geometry is traced to the architectural measurement of altars, which were required for the great *Soma* sacrifice. They were made in ten different shapes as enumerated in the *Sulba-sūtras* (200 B. C.) or supplementary portions of *Kalpa-sūtra* of *Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba* to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. These altars refer to the construction of squares and triangles; the relation of the diagonal to the sides; the equivalence of rectangles and squares; and the construction of equivalent squares and circles.

Aryabhaṭa was the first to insert a definitely mathematical section (*gaṇita*) in his astronomy. He deals in it with evolution and involution, area and volumes, progression, algebraic identities, and indeterminate

¹ For instance *Panahara*, *Apoklima*, *Hibuka*, *trikoṇa jāmītra*, *Meshurana*, signs of zodiac including *kriya*, *tavuri*, *jituma*, *leya*, *pathona juka*, *kampya*, *tankshika*, *anokero*, *Hridroga* and *Itthya*, etc.

equations of the first degree ($ax + by = c$). It defines that 'the product of three equal numbers is a cube and it also has twelve edges. His notation is expressed in consonants, viz. K and M for 1 to 25, Y to H for 30 to 100, vowels denoting multiplication by powers of 100, A being 100 and B 1000.

Brahmagupta's work covers 'the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube rules, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry, including treatment of the rational right-angled triangle, and the elements of the circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow, problems, negative and positive quantities, cipher, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees (in considerable detail), and simple equations of the first and second degrees, and cyclic quadrilaterals being specially treated.'

The *Gapita-sāra-saṅgraha* (9th century) of Mahāvīra-charya gives many examples of solutions of indeterminates but not the cyclic method of Brahmagupta; introduces geometrical progressions, and alone deals with ellipses, but has no formal algebra. The *Trisati* of Sudhana (born 991) deals, in addition, with quadratic equations. The *Bija-ganita* of Bhāskara-charya, which agrees with Brahmagupta, contains the fullest and most systematic account of algebra, and his *Lilavati* includes combinations. The *Bakhshali Ms.* of the 3rd or 4th century also refers to Hindu mathematics.

Professor Keith does not believe in the Greek influence on Indian Mathematics. "The facts are that, as regards indeterminate equations, the Greeks by the 4th century had achieved rational solutions, not necessarily integral, of the equations of the first and second degree and of some cases of the third degree. The Indian records go distinctly beyond this. Brahmagupta shows a complete grasp of the integral solution $ax - by = c$, and indicates the method of composition of the solution of $on^2 + ^1 = q$. Bhāskara-charya adds the cyclic method. The combination of these two methods gives integral solutions, the finest thing achieved in the theory of these numbers. "To find an ultimate Greek origine for these discoveries," concludes Professor Keith, "seems due rather to a *parti pris* than to justice."

In regard to Geometry both the Indian and Grecian mathematics shows from 300 A.D. 'an absence of definitions, and does not deal with angles, nor mentions parallels, nor gives a theory of proportion, while the traditional inaccuracies are common'. The independence and originality of Indian mathematics have been defended on the score that the love of dealing with large numbers¹ and making calculations is recorded early for India'. The abacus invented in India and the numbers of the west were borrowed from India, words for numbers are used in the unique system of Āryabhaṭṭa. The figures of the Brāhmī or Kharoshthī notation in Asoka Inscriptions have not place value which is actually found in Inscriptions from the ninth century onwards. But the Indian figures were known in Syria in 662 A. D. "The probability still remains that India did render a great service in this regard and in any case excelled Greece" concludes Professor Keith.

India has also inspired the Arabic mathematics. The Algebra of M. ibn Musa (782) bears the Indian influence. Arabian science from 771 "borrowed freely from Indian astronomy, translating and adapting both Āryabhaṭṭa and Brahmagupta".

Coincidences with the Chinese mathematics are numerous and interesting. The so-called Chinese invention of the system of Nakshatras found in early Indian Astronomy is undeniable. Indian influence on China is "proved sufficiently by the history of Chinese Buddhism and the discoveries in Central Asia".

The original contributions of the Hindus in the practice of arithmetic, algebra and geometry may be briefly illustrated. They discovered the cardinal numbers 1 to 9, and also the zero (bindu). They knew the eight-fold system of addition (yoga), subtraction (viyoga), multiplication (purana), square (varga), cube (ghana), square-root (vargamūla), and cube-root (ghana-mala). They discovered the modern method of division and the rule of three. They knew the fraction and its addition and subtraction by the method

¹ While the western system of counting does not go beyond some six figures (billion), the Indian system counts up to eighteen or nineteen figures ending sagara.

of L. C. C., called Niruddha in the *Garita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahavira (9th century). Pingala (second century B. C.) used in his *Chhandas-sūtra* the method of permutation and combination (*chhandagaṇita*). Ārya Bhaṭṭa refers to this and also to arithmetical and geometrical progression. In his *Līlavatī* Bhāskarāchārya has demonstrated that when a figure is divided by zero the result is infinite number.

Bija-gaṇita is the title of the two chapters of the *Siddhanta-siromani* of Bhāskarāchārya (1150). In English it is called Algebra because it was borrowed from the *Al-jabr-ḥawl-mokabala* of Mīr. Mūsā-al-Khwayrīzmi (825). But the Arabs had learnt it from the Hindus. The Hindus called this science both *Bija-gaṇita* and *Avyakta-gaṇita*. They discovered the positive (*dhana*) and negative (*riṇa*) numbers. Brahmagupta (628) discovered equation (*samīkaraṇa*). Its four varieties were in use: they are known as simple (*ekavarṇa*), simultaneous (*aneka-varṇa*), quadratic (*madhyamāharaṇa*) and *Bhāvita* or equation involving products of two unknown quantities. Kuṣṭha first solved the indeterminate equation of the first degree (*eka-varṇa-samīkaraṇa*). Āryabhaṭṭa, Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara, Padmanābha, and Bhāskarāchārya solved such equations of algebra as could be done in Europe as late as the 17th or 18th centuries.

In *Jyamiti* or geometry Baudhāyana (second century B. C.) actually solved the theorem long before it was associated with the name of Grecian Pythagorus, *viz.* the square on the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle is equal to the sum of squares on the other two sides. He also proved the theorem that the square on the diagonal of a rectangle is twice the area of the rectangle. The *Sūtra-sūtras* also explain how to draw a square equal to the area of a triangle, and a circle equal in area of a square. The *Sūrya-siddhanta* (5th century) found out the area of a triangle from its sides, which in Europe was discovered in the 16th century by Clavius. Brahmagupta and Bhāskarāchārya worked out the area of a quadrangle from its sides. Baudhāyana and Apastamba worked out the proportion between the diagonal and sides of a square (1:1.42156) which corresponds to the fifth decimal of modern finding ($\sqrt{2} = 1.41423\dots$).

In Trikoṇamiti or trigonometry, the Hindus discovered *jyā* (sine), *koṭi-jyā* (co-sine), *utkrāma-jyā* (versed sine), of which there are tables as in *Śūrya-siddhānta* (5th century) which was discovered in Europe in the 16th century by Briggs. Bhāskaracharya in the *Līlavatī* explained the method to find out the length of the sides of equilateral and equiangular triangle, quadrangle, pentagon, hexagon, septagon, octagon and nine-sided figure drawn within a circle in comparison with its diameter. These exactly correspond to the modern formula.

EUGENICS (KAMA-ŚĀSTRA)

Kama is, generally but inaccurately, counted as the third aim of civilized life, Dharma or Civil and religious laws being the first, and Artha or economic matters being the second. This false notion of comparative importance or precedence of the Hindu aim of life is based on the assumption that the material happiness was not the first consideration among the Hindus. But from the archaeological remains of the pre-vedic Mahenjodaro of about 3000 B.C. it is clear beyond doubt that more direct attention was paid to the material progress, and comfort and convenience of household life than to the spiritual one. In the subsequent Vedic period the same aim of life might have continued despite the fact that the early Vedic hymns refer largely to the spiritual life. Nothing short should be expected in the Veda because the ultimate object of that literature was a spiritual one. In the later Vedas, like the Atharvan and in parts of Brahmanas and Sūtras, however, more interest appears to have been taken in the the material progress of life.

It is clearly stated that 'as Arthaśāstra is intended for kings and ministers, so Kamaśāstra is studied by Nāgarakas or citizens of taste who desire to practice refinement and profit to the most by their knowledge of all that is meant by Kama', not merely association with women but also other desires which make the home life and office life worth living. Women are also expected "to study (the subject of kama) if they are such as come into contact with gentlemen, the princesses, and daughters of high officials." Moreover on the general principle of Kama that "all's fair in love and

war" instructions are included in modes of deceiving maidens and of seducing the wives of others, 'with as much sang-froid as the Artha-śāstra in inculcating the benefits of defeating an opponent by guile". For the purpose of observing due moderation a student of Kamaśāstra has, however, to remember the claims of the Arthaśāstra, for otherwise, the social equilibrium will be lost, and also of the Dharma-śāstra for the sake of the social and moral discipline. Thus Kamaśāstra corresponds to Eugenics, the science which deals with "race culture".

The earliest author of the Kamaśāstra is Śvetaketu, the Vedic scholar, who is stated to have composed a treatise which Pāṇchāhala Babhravya condensed in seven chapters. Each of these seven sections is stated to have been elaborated by Dattaka, Charayana, Suvarṇa-nabha, Ghoṭaka-mukha, Gonārdiya, Gonika-pūtra, and Kuchumāra. All these books must have been once in existence. All these authors are mentioned and quoted in later literature.

The first regular treatise on Kamaśāstra is however, the Kamasūtra of Vātsyāyana (about 250 A.D.). It is divided into seven parts. The first part deals with generalities, the second with the purpose of the book, the three ends of man (kāma, artha, dharma), the sciences, the character of an elegant person and the description of the friends and go-betweens who held him in his intrigues. The third refers to the relations with maidens, giving hints to courtship. The fourth part discusses relations with married women and the fifth with relations with the women of others. The sixth relates to courtesans. The seventh deals with the secret matters to secure love. Yaśodhara (about 1243-61) wrote his commentary, Jayamaṅgala. Other minor works includes the Pañchastayaka by Jyotirīśvara who came after Kshemendra. The Ratirahasya was written by Kokkaka before 1200 and is a compilation from the words of Nandikeśvara, Gonikaputra and Vātryāyana. The Ratimañjarī of Jayadeva (may be the author of the Gitagovinda) and the Anāgarāṅga of Kalyāṇamalla were written in the sixteenth century. The Ratirahasya is ascribed to a Nāgarjuna. There is a commentary, Smara-tattva-prakāśikā by one Revanārādhyā.

The sciences (śāstra) referred to in the introduction of the Kamasutra of Vātsyāyana deal with the traditional

list of sixty-four arts (*kalā*). This list is also met with in the mythological works like the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the *Harivamśa*, and the *Vishṇupurāṇa*; and the Buddhist-Jain works like the *Lalitā-vistara* and the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*. In the *Kāmaśāstra* group these arts are stated to be taught for the refinement of *Nāgarakas* (citizens) or properly educated men and women. The mythological groups make mention of these sixty-four arts in connexion with the various kinds of knowledge acquired by the chief heroes, *Krishṇa* and *Balarāma*. The Buddhist-Jain group refers to these arts in connexion with the education of the respective heroes, *Bodhisattva* and *Mahāvira*.

This list of sixty-four arts, almost identical in the various branches of literature, includes various matters which go far beyond the sex-relations to which the extant *Kāmaśāstras* have confined their discussion. The list comprises all such subjects as are required for the real refinement and enjoyment of life. Thus the vocal music (*gīta*) comes first. Then follows in order instrumental music (*vadya*), dancing (*nritya*), dramatic performance (*nāṭya*), painting (*ālākhyā*), tattooing and facial decoration (*viśeshaka-chchhedya*), artistic arrangement of rice-meal, flowers, and dishes (*tandula-kusumbali-vikāra*), making beds of flowers (*pushpāstarāna*); the arts of staining teeth, dyeing cloth, and colouring the body with powder and paints; art of bed-making (*śayana-rachana*); playing with an instrument on water (*udaka-vadya*) like the musical glasses; art of making fountains; pictorial arts (*chitrāyoga*); art of making garlands; art of putting on ornaments on the head; scenic representation (*nepathya-prayoga*), painting the cheeks with sandal, etc., perfumery; art of putting on ornaments, art of jugglery; tricks; prestidigitation; art of cooking; preparation of beverages; weaving, tailoring or sewing including embroidery; art of playing with thread and rope; playing with lute and small drum; solution of riddles, charades, etc., modelling and making images; mimicry; elocution; tableau vivants; solution of verbal puzzles; crafts like making of sticks, baskets, etc.; making twist with a spindle or distaff; carpentry; architecture (*vastuvidyā*), testing of gold, silver and precious stones; art of setting, purifying and mixing of metals (*dhatu-vidyā*); colouring precious stones; art of ascertaining the existence of wines, gardening including

planting, nursing, caring, etc., of plants, flowers, fruits; ram-fighting, cock-fighting and quecil-fighting; training of parrots; arts of messaging and shampooing; hair-dressing; guessing unseen things and letters held in a closed fist; using secret code, knowledge of languages of various countries; making of flower carriages; reading of omens; art of making monograms, logographs, and diagrams; composing enigmatic poetry; art of debate; extempore composition of verses; memorising of lexicons; knowledge of poetic metres; acquaintance with poetics and grammar; art of personification; magic like the changing of appearance of fabrics; art of gambling; disc-playing; making dolls for children; art of etiquettes; art of archery; and the knowledge of sports, physical exercises and hunting, etc.¹

This list should remove the false notion regarding the scope of the Kamasūtra which is not limited to the sexual love alone. It deals with the entire race-culture and includes all the fine arts and crafts which are necessary for the cultural and technical perfection of the life of civilized men and women. This should also make it clear that of the three ends of life Kama must have been given the first place in our ancient culture because, as hinted in the mythological treatises and Buddhist-Jain scriptures, these arts formed the essential subjects of primary education of their ideal heroes from the childhood onwards. Artha was required next and Dharma or civil and religious needs were counted as the third stage of our cultural development. These fine arts (śilpa) developed to such an extent that every one of them was regulated by a scientific treatise (śāstra). Some of these standard works discussed more than one of these arts. For instance, the Nāṭyaśāstra (dramaturgy) dealt with, as noted in the next chapter, not merely with the scenic representation but also with all the allied subjects, *viz.*, music, songs, dance, poetics, construction of the stage, dressing, elocution, in fact everything connected with the playing of a piece. Similarly in poetics are included not only the composition of poetic sentences but also the accents, metres, figures of speech, even grammar although the Vyākaraṇa-śāstra dealing with the morphological

1 For further details vide the Writer's 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad', Introduction, pp. L35.

changes of words formed a different science (śāstra). The Vastuvidyā (architecture) deals with not only villages, towns, houses, but also articles of furniture, carpentry, conveyances, ornaments for the decoration of the body as well as making of images although there is a separate science dealing with sculpture. The Āyurveda (science of living) deals not only with the means of curing diseases by the application of medicines, surgery, dentistry, etc., but also with the preparation of drugs, etc., although there are separate science dealing with mixtures (rasīyanasāstra), herbs (vriksha), anatomy, physiology, etc. Minerology and Geology are similarly included in this list of arts. But unfortunately the texts on all these sciences have not yet been discovered and published. For practical end of life the preparation of food and drinks is essential and of primary importance and has been incidentally referred to in various branches of literature, but unfortunately no standard text is yet available on this subject. Similarly scientific texts (śāstra) are missing on subjects like weaving, solution of puzzles, discovery of mines, testing of precious stones, nursing of plants, fighting, making of weapons, training of birds and animals, reading of omens, personification, gambling, etiquettes, sports, hunting and physical exercises, etc. It is obvious that all these sciences advance the practical end (kāma) of life and should be treated under the general heading of of Kāmasāstra. The few texts available on architecture, medicine, astronomy, astrology and mathematics may thus be discussed below.

ARCHITECTURE (VASTUŚĀSTRA)

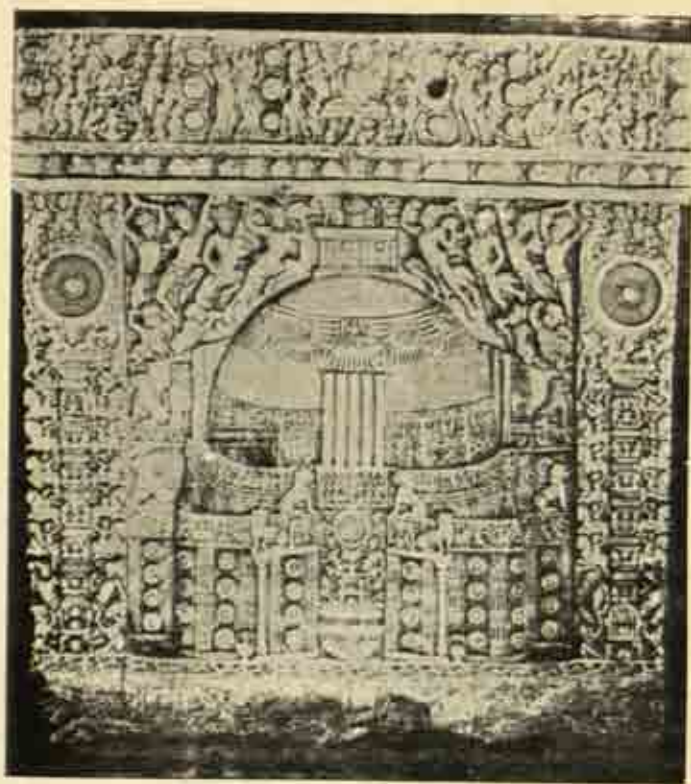
Like all other sciences the origin of the science of architecture is ascribed to Brahma and thereby a national origin of this science is rightly claimed. From the four faces of this Indian deity are stated to have originated the four earliest architects, viz., Viśvakarman, Maya, Tvastar and Manu. Their sons were Sthapati (chief architect), Sūtragrahin (designer), Vardhaki (developer or painter) and Takshaka or carpenter, who form a Board of buidiers.

The standard treatise is named in the colophons of its seventy chapters as the *Manasara Vastuśāstra*. It mentions thirty-two preceding authorities, viz.,

Viśvakarman, Viśveśa, Viśvasāra, Prabodhaka Vrita, Maya, Tvashtar, Manu, Nala, Mānavid, Mānakalpa, Mānasāra, Mānabodha, Prashtar, Viśvabodha, Naya, Adhisara, Viśśa, Viśva-Kaśyapa, Vāstu-bodha, Mahātānta, Vāstu-Vidyapati, Parāśariyaka, Kālayupa, Chaitya, Chitraka, Avarya, Śadhaka-sāra-Samhita, Bhanu, Indra, Lokajña, and Sama. Only a few extant fragmentary texts, clearly later than the Mānasāra-Vāstusāstra, are available mostly in manuscripts ascribed to some of these authors. *viz.*, Mayamata-Śilpāstra, Amṣumadbhedha of Kaśyapa and Viśva-Karma-Śilpa.¹ There are several other later texts and there are also long chapters in the Purāṇas and Āgamas devoted to the subject of architecture, besides copious casual references in the Vedic literature, Buddhist and Jain scriptures, epics, classical literature and technical work like the Arthasāstra, Astronomy, medicine, etc. This Mānasāra Vāstusāstra of unidentified authorship and of provisionally ascertained date, being near about the Christian era, is completed in seventy chapters. The first deals with various subjects treated under architecture. The second deals with the system of measurement. Next three chapters classify Vāstu under ground and site for building; building (*harmya*) which includes palaces, pavilions, halls, mansions, almshouses and theatres; conveyance comprising cars, chariots and palanquins; and couch which includes beds, teads, benches, chairs, swings, and nests and cages for domesticated birds and animals. Under ground, testing of soil and site for building is discussed. The sixth chapter deals with gnomons for ascertaining the correct cardinal points for the purpose of right orientation of buildings. The next chapter supplies schemes of site plans. The eighth and last chapter on the preliminaries refers to sacrificial offerings in connexion with house building. In the next two chapters village-schemes and town-plans are elaborated, which include the layout, roads, bridges, gardens, ponds, public buildings like temples and assembly-halls, guest-houses, hospitals for men and beasts, cemeteries, cremation grounds, etc. The surrounding walls and ditches are also described. The next chapter

¹ For other works not mentioned in this list of thirty-two authorities vide the writer's *Indian Architecture* (1927), pp. 100-109.

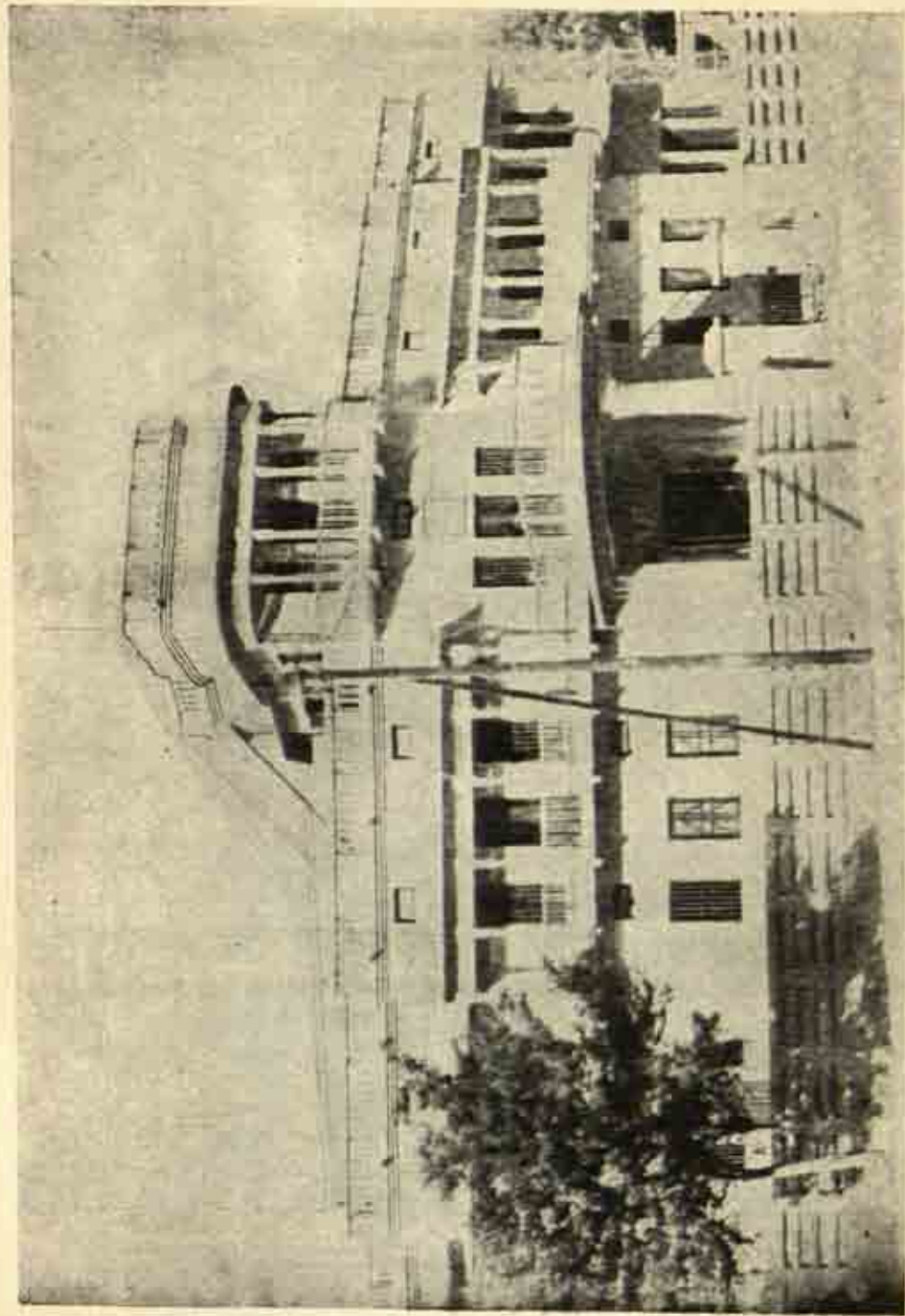
² Sketches of some 200 works will be found in the writer's *Dictionary of Hind Architecture*, Appendix I, pp. 749-804, and the *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*.



Stupa at Amaravati



Jaina Temple, Sonagarh, in Bundelkhand



FRONT ELEVATION OF SWASTIKA BHAWAN
(Built at Allahabad 1935-1939 to demonstrate the directions of Manasara Vastu-sastra)

deals with the principles of dimensions for buildings of various storeys. Chapter XII describes the foundations to be given to all constructions. Chapter XIII-XVI deal with pillars of free-standing and supporting varieties together with their pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals and entablatures. Chapter XVII describes the wood-joining and other wood works for the buildings. Chapter XVIII describes the classification of buildings on the basis of the number of storeys, the styles of buildings, based chiefly on the shape of the top (head) portion known as *Sikhara* (dome, pinnacle, spire), sloping roofs and porticoes attached to the main building. Chapters XIX-XXX describe various parts and proportion of some hundred types of buildings furnished with one to twelve storeyes. Chapter XXX concludes with a description of staircases for all kinds of buildings. Chapter XXXI describes the various courts into which the whole compound of an edifice, temple or palace is divided for the purpose of distribution of various structures. Chapter XXXII discusses the court in a temple where the attendant deities are housed. Chapter XXXIII describes the gate-houses attached both to residential buildings and temples and concludes with an elaborate description of windows. Chapter XXXIV describes detached pavilions of various kinds which are not storeyed and are like the modern bungalows built inland and on sea shore, river bank, hill top, etc. Chapter XXXV describes the various classes of huge mansions composed of several rows of buildings. Location of such buildings and their measures are treated in the next chapter. Chapter XXXVI describes the ceremonies of house-warming or first entry into the newly built house. Chapters XXXVII-XXXIX deal with various kinds of doors and openings. Chapters XL-XLII describe the royal palaces for kings of different ranks and for their courts and families. Chapters XLIII-XLV describe the cars, chariots, couches, and thrones for kings and gods and their consorts. Chapter XLVI describes decorative arches for royal and divine thrones and incidentally refers to the principle of constructive arches for building also. Chapter XLVII describes theatres for performance of drama, inside temples and palaces, and ornamental trees for decoration purposes. The royal and divine structures are described with minute details of construction in Chapter XLVIII. Chapter XLIX describes

crowns for royal and divine wearers and their consorts with constructive details. In the next chapter are described in detail various articles of furniture and ornaments for the body of kings, gods, their consorts and other personages. This concludes the description of architectural objects proper.

With similar elaborate description and constructive details the sculptural objects are described in the following twenty-one chapters L-LXX. Of these chapters LI describes the images of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva; chapters LII-LIII the phalli of Śiva and the pedestal (Yoni) thereof; chapter LIV goddesses of various grades and measures. The Jain deities are described in the next chapter which contains an elaborate account of sculptural measures. Chapter LVI describes the Buddhist images, Chapter LVII images of sages, chapter LVIII images of demi-gods, chapter LIX images of devotees, chapter LX images of goose, chapter LXI, images of Garuda bird, chapter LXII the image of the bull and chapter LXIII the image of the lion. Chapter LXIV supplies a general description of all images, especially their proportion in comparison with the measure of the house wherein they are installed as well as with the measure of installer. Further principle of sculptural measure is discussed here. The Tala measures which supply the proportion between various parts of the body on the basis of the head as the unit are illustrated in chapters LXV-LXVI where minute details of the ten and nine Tala measures are given, the other such measures being illustrated in the preceding chapters. For further sculptural measures the plumb lines are described in chapter LXVII, whereby the sidewise distance from limb to limb of an image can be ascertained. The first casting of images in wax is described in chapter LXVIII. Chapter LXIX discusses the defects in constructing the various parts of a building and incidentally refers to the defects in making the images also. The concluding chapter LXX describes the chiselling of the eye of an image and setting of precious stones in different parts of the images.

Of the post-Manasira texts on architecture the Mayamata Śilpa-śāstra is attributed to one Gannama-charya who appears to have abridged this text from the Manasira in 35 chapters. Of these the first thirty-two on architecture bear the same titles as the corres-

poning chapters of the *Manasāra*. Of the remaining four on sculpture in place of twenty-one of the *Manasāra* two deal with the Phalli and Pedestals of Śiva, one on minor works (*anukarma*) of sculpture and one on images in general. The date of this compilation is not known. The *Aṃśumad-bheda* of Kaśyapa comprises 86 chapters of which first 45 and the last 2 are devoted to architecture. These 47 chapters are similar in many respects to the first fifty chapters of the *Manasāra*. The *Aṃśumad-bheda* deals much more elaborately with sculptural objects in 39 chapters in place of some 20 chapters of the *Manasāra*. The exact date and authorship of this text still remain untraced. There are several versions of the *Viśvakarma-śilpa*. The one known as the *Viśvakarma-prakāśa* and *Viśvakarma-Vastuśāstra* contains 13 chapters in which some 36 topics on non-architectural matters chiefly astrological are discussed. The other version, *Viśvakarmiya-śilpa*, is a Nāgari copy made in 1872 from an original in the Hala-Kanadi character. It consists of 17 chapters on sculpture. The two versions form a complete treatise. The authorship and the date or dates are not known.

The *Agastya Sakalādhikara* consists of two parts, one comprising 19 chapter and the other 5 chapters, all discussing various sculptural matters including the technical Tala measures. Several of the chapters are based directly upon the corresponding chapters of the *Manasāra*. The date and authorship are unknown.

The *Sanat-kumara-Vastuśāstra* of unknown date and authorship is stated to have been based on the works of Brahman, Śakra, Yama, Bhargava, Angirasa, Maya, Gautama, Gargya, Manu, Vyasa, Bhrigu, Viśvakarman and others. In 8 chapters it briefly discusses only certain astrological topics concerning the building and entering into newly-built houses, and leaves out the main subject.

The *Śilpaśāstra* of Mandana, otherwise called *Rajavallabha-Mandana*, *Sūtradhara Mandana* and *Bhupati-Vallabha*. This author was in the employ of king Kumbhakara of Medapaṭṭa and the husband of Mirabai (1419-1469 A. D.). It deals with the architectural disposition of houses, palaces and temples in 14 chapters in the first part and 8 chapters in the second part which bears the title of *Prāsāda-maṇḍana-Vastu-*

śāstra. Most of these appear to have been based on the corresponding chapters of the *Minasāra*.¹

Early works on painting (*chitravidyā*) are missing. The *Vishnu-dharmottara* of "uncertain but not early date" contains a section on painting². There are references to painting in the *Sādhnamālā*.³ On the remains of painting at several places modern writers base their comments. They include Havell, *Indian sculpture and painting* (1908); Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon* (1911); Coomaraswamy, *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (1913); Lady Herringham, *Ajanta Frescos* (1915); Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting* (1916); Stella Kramrisch, *Medieval Sinhalese Art and the influence of Indian Art* (1925); G. Roerich, *Tibetan Painting* (1925). There are no works exclusively on sculpture.

The treatises on music deals 'comprehensively with the whole topic, the kindred subjects of singing, arrangements for concerts, etc. These are mentioned first in the *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra*. The later texts include the *Sāngita-Ratnākara* of Śaṅgadeva (13th century), the *Sāngita-darpaṇa* of Damodara (later than 13th century), and the *Rāgavibodha* of Somanātha (1639) which deals with musical modes (*rāga*) and 'includes fifty pieces of the author's own composition for the lute with notation.'

The *Ratna-śāstra* deals with the examination of jewels and give very varied information regarding them. *Varahamihira* shows in his *Bṛhat-samhitā* (5th century) his acquaintance with the subject. The extant texts of unknown dates include the *Agastyamālā*; the *Ratna-parikṣā* of Buddha Bhaṭṭa; and the *Navaratna-parikṣā* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

Dhanurveda, dealing with archery, is treated in several extant texts of unknown dates. Their authors include *Vikramāditya*, *Sadaśiva*, and *Śaṅgadatta*.

One extant text discussing the science of stealing

1 There are several such fragmentary works and compilations referred to in the Appendix I of the *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* by the writer.

2 Translated into English by Stella Kramrisch (Calcutta, 1925).

3 Edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharya (1925).

(chauryavidyā) as referred to in the *Mrichohakatika* is *Shanmukha-kalpa* of unknown date and authorship insists on a sound knowledge by a thief of magic.

POLITICAL ECONOMY (ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA)

The *Arthashastra* (literature concerned with profit) is equally called *Nitiśāstra* (science of conduct), *Rajāniti* (method of government or conduct of kings) including *Dandaniti* (policy of punishment). The *Mahābhārata* (xii, 59, 28) traces the origin of the *Arthashastra* to the Creator *Brahmā* who was the author of a work in 100,000 sections on the three topics (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*), reduced versions of which are ascribed to *Viśalakṣha* and *Indra*. *Indra*'s version, called the *Bahudānka*, was reduced to 3,000 sections by *Bṛhaspati* which was again reduced to 1,000 sections by *Usānas*. The standard treatise, *Kauṭilya Arthashastra*, also mentions as its authorities the works of *Bṛhaspati*, *Bahudantiputra*, *Viśalakṣha* and *Uśinas*. *Vātsyāyana*'s *Kāmasūtra* also mentions *Bṛhaspati* as the author of an *Arthashastra*. There are traces in the *Mahābhārata* (xv, 5-7) of the actual use of a formal *Arthashastra* out of which grew its sections dealing with polity such as *Karna*'s lecture to *Dhritarashtra* (I, 140), *Vidura*'s speeches (V, 33-39), and other scattered sections. "There is no doubt that the *Smritis* of *Manu* (VII, 158), *Yājñavalkya* (i, 344, ii, 21), *Vishnu* (iii, 33) and *Nārada* (i, 39) made use of texts of this sort in compiling their contents. The *Arthashastra* was respected by the poets of royal courts such as *Bhāsa*, *Kalidāsa*, *Bhāravi*, *Magha* and their followers. The Buddhists in the *Jātakamālā* (ix, 10 ; xxxi, 52), however, condemned the *Nitiśāstra* and hotly denounced the Hindu doctrine that "right should be followed only so far as it does not conflict with profit." The *Bṛhaspatya Arthashastra* as an object of study as stated by *Bhāsa* and its author *Bṛhaspati* as the founder of the science as stated in the *Mahābhārata* does not exist in its original form. A modern production of uncertain date bearing the same title contains little if anything of the old doctrines of the school.

The *Kauṭilya Arthashastra* is the standard treatise on the science of economics like the *Maṇasara Vastuśāstra* in the field of architecture and sculpture. This earliest

preserved text "exhibits every sign of a long prior development, which by reason of its completeness has deprived earlier treatises of the possibility of survival." It affords a vast amount of detailed information about the practical side of Indian life as opposed to the spiritual. In parts it covers the ground touched on in the treatises on Dharma. It is divided into 15 great sections (Adhikaraṇas) and sub-sections (Prakaraṇas) which are, however, crossed by division into chapters (Adhyāyas).

The first book (adhikaraṇa) deals with the bringing up and education of a prince, including general knowledge, training in the art of government, precautions regarding safety of his life, conduct of family members and ministers and officials. Heavy royal duties are enumerated. Book II gives in detail the duties of a vast army of inspectors, showing the detailed control of administration. Book III discusses laws of administration. Book IV deals with police administration in repression of evil-doers, cheating tradesmen and doctors, also to prevent use of false weights, adulteration of consumer's goods, artificial increase of prices, etc. Book V explains how a king can get rid of an unwanted minister and how taxes can be collected by ingenious method. It contains a chapter on the remuneration of the royal entourage, ranging from 48,000 to 60 paṇas yearly. Book VI describes the seven elements of politics, viz., the king, minister, land, fort, treasure, army and ally, and discusses the inter-state relations in much detail. Book VII deals with the six possible causes of action peace, war, neutrality, preparation to march out, alliance and doubtful attitude. Book VIII enumerates the evils that may arise from a king's addiction to hunting, gambling, women and drink, and the misfortunes which fire, water, or other cause may bring on a land. Books IX and X deal with various phases of war in which the king himself takes an active part. Book XI directs how the king is to sow dissension in and destroy the cohesion of hostile aristocracies or warriors. Book XII deals with means of aggrandizement with the help of spies, secret agents, bravos, poisoners including women. Book XIII shows how a king can capture a fortified city by his omniscient and enjoyment of divine favour. Book XIV contains a secret part (Aupanishadika) consisting of recipes to

enable one to murder, to cause blindness or madness, and so on. The last Book XV gives a plan of the work, and sets forth with examples 32 methodical principles used in the discussion in place of 5 or 6 elsewhere known.

This standard Arthaśāstra "accepts wholesale the Brahmanical theory of the castes and their duties,—economics, agriculture, pastoral pursuits, trade and industry, and polity". The ministers of the king and his council are described, and above all his spies who serve him to secure a firm hold over all within the realm, high and low, from the princes of his house who aim at his death to the humblest people. His emissaries abroad are spies as well as ambassadors, and the spies serve to keep him informed of all that happens to his neighbours. A large number of works drawn upon include texts on special sciences such as examination of jewels, agriculture, military matters, architecture, alchemy, veterinary art, and other topics.

As political economy the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra is comparable, as stated by Professor Keith and others, to the much later works of Machiavelli on political philosophy. But it does not discuss in detail the fundamental issues such as the relation of right and might, of fate and human endeavour, and the origin of kingship, which subjects are more expressly discussed in the Mahābhārata and the Buddhist texts. It holds Artha the most important of the three aims of life, viz., Kāma, Artha, and Dharma (Moksha). It assents "that Artha (political economy) is essential to them all; without it there would be the reign of anarchy everywhere; under the sceptre the four castes and their ordered ways of life prosper, and Kāma, Artha and Dharma are fulfilled". While with Machiavelli and Mussolini the "state is all in all" in a vague manner, the Arthaśāstra means by the state an order of society "which the state does not create, but which it exists to secure". The end of the government, it holds, is the maintenance of a firm rule. It justifies the means coupled with the assumption that a reign of peace between the neighbouring states is not to be dreamed of, so that in addition to maintaining peace in the realm the king must always be prepared for foreign war. It recognizes the risks run by a king from court intrigues, military oligarchical factions, false ministers and unruly heads of guilds. It recognizes the king as no more than a servant

of the state. It summarises the relation of the king with the subjects: "In the happiness of his people lies the happiness of the king, in their well-being his well-being, his own pleasure is not the king's well-being, but the pleasure of his people is his well-being."

Professor Keith does not fully share the current belief regarding the identity of the author and hence his date as the contemporary of the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya (B. C. 324) in whose court Megasthenes was the Grecian ambassador. The author of this standard *Arthashastra*, according to common belief, was Kautilya which appears to be the professional nick name of Chandragupta's minister Chanakya whose pre-ministrial proper name seems to have been Vishnugupta. According to the *Mudra-Rakshasa* this minister overthrew the Nanda dynasty, enthroned Chandragupta Maurya and wrote this *Arthashastra* as Bismarck wrote his *Memoirs*. His accounts of Chandragupta do not, however, make clear the boards of town officials mentioned by Megasthenes. "If we abandon the unhappy identification", concludes Professor Keith, it is plausible to think, if it cannot be proved, "that the work was a product of B. C. 300, written by an official attached to some Court" because later writers frequently mentioned it.

The *Nitisāra* of Kamandaki is based mainly on Kautilya *Arthashastra*. It is a mere redaction of the *Arthashastra*. It is divided into twenty cantos and like a poetic work is composed in verses. It is simplified by the omission of the details regarding administration in books ii-iv of the text, and of the subject matter of the last two books. In ix-xi the theory of foreign policy is developed into its fullness of theoretical elaboration. According to some it is contemporaneous with Varahamihira (about 500) but Professor Keith places it in about 700 A. D.

The *Nitivakyamrita* of Somadeva is a treatise on royal duties. It is also indebted to the *Arthashastra*. It omits the details of administration and war, and advises kings how to behave well and prudently rather than with cunning. Like the *Smritis* it enjoins the use of ordeal, not of torture as in the *Arthashastra*. The author, slightly affected by Jain views, entirely accepts the rule of the castes, disapproves intermarriage, demands

from each caste adherence to its own duties, and can find a place for a good Śūdra who observes purity and devotion to his work'.

That the Jain Politicians completely depended on the Brahmanical science is illustrated by the *Laghu-Arthaniti* of Hemachandra (1168-1172) which is an abbreviation of his large work on this topic in Prakrit. Written in śloka (verses) it deals with war (i), punishments (ii), law (vyavahāra) (iii), and penances (iv). In law he follows the eighteen heads of the *Manu-Smṛiti* and in penances he imposes punishment for taking meals with unsuitable persons. He condemns war involving loss of life, use of poisoned or heated weapons, stones or masses of earth, and demands quarters for ascetics, Brahmans, those who surrender and all kinds of weaklings. The later Brahmanical texts include the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* of Bhoja, and the *Nīti-ratnākara* of Chandesvara, the jurist. Like the *Nīti-prakāśikā*, the *Śukranīti* is a work of quite late date (about 1600 or 1700) which mentions the 'use of gunpowder.'

The text, based largely on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, is divided into five *adhyāyas* or 'books'. The book IV contains seven sections (*prakaraṇas*). The duties of princes are described in Book I; the functions of the crown prince and other state officials are dealt with in Book II; the general rules or morality are elaborated in Book III; the seven sections of Book IV deal respectively with characteristics of friends (i), treasure (ii), arts and sciences (iii), social customs and institutions (iv), king's functions (v), fortresses (vi), and army (vii); Book V deals with supplementary and miscellaneous matters. The whole contents may, however, be classified as non-political and political. The non-political subjects refer to data concerning ancient Indian geography, ethnology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, art comprising architecture, sculpture and painting, morals and manners including socio-religious rites and institutions, pedagogy including *Vidyās*, *kālās*, and literature and economics including statistics of prices and wages, etc. The political sections supply data of ancient Indian polity or constitution, i.e., the form of government including the theory of *Rashtra* or state, public finance, jurisprudence and international law.¹

1 For Further details see 'The *Sukranīti*' by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1914).

MORAL AND CIVIL LAWS

(DHARMA ŚĀSTRA)

The Dharmaśāstra deals in a simple manner with the functions of the Kalpa-sūtra which comprises the Śrauta-sūtra, Grihya-sūtra and Dharmasūtra proper. The Śrauta-sūtra deals with the holy writ (Śruti) concerning the Vedic sacrifices with a spiritual end in view; the Grihyasūtra deals with domestic rites including marriage, sacraments, and other duties of the householder, which start with the Vedic sacrifices in some form. Thus the function left for the Dharmasūtra should have been confined to the laws only for the regulation of religious sacrifices and domestic rites. But as a matter of fact the Dharma-śāstra 'adopted the practice of including in their texts instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds concerning social usage, moral, legal and religious'. The administration of all these subjects concerning the practical life is also the function of the Artha-śāstra. But there seems to be a distinction between the function of the Artha-śāstra and the function of the Dharmaśāstra. The former aims at the larger national life while the latter confines to the sphere of the individual life. Thus the Dharmaśāstra prescribes for the laws of marriage concerning the union of individual man and woman, of sacraments concerning the bringing up of children by the individual parents, of the daily duties concerning parents dead or living, guests and the helpless by the individual family, and the four stages or orders of life also concerning the individual student, householder, retired person, and one who has renounced all worldly connection. Similarly are elaborated the individual duties of a king, a teacher, a trader, a servant, a minister, a physician and so forth. In addition to all the individual functions the Dharmaśāstra contains a section dealing with the exclusively spiritual aim of individual life and the means of attaining emancipation of the immortal spirit or soul, which is known as Moksha (salvation), the fourth and the ultimate end of life. Thus the Kamaśāstra deals with the means of fulfilling human desires (kāma) in the economic field of social life, Arthaśāstra with the political administration of national life, and the Dharmaśāstra with the religious practices for the good of the individual, and with Moksha (salvation)

for the attainment of the ultimate aim of life. As Moksha and Dharma can rarely be attained without passing through the life of Artha and Kama the traditional order of the four ends of civilized life has to be considered in a reverse order. On the other hand Dharma would educate individuals for an orderly enjoyment of natural desires in a society which in turn would bring forth a state that will rule the society, community and the individuals. Such a causal connection between the various ends of life gave rise to the Darśana-śāstra (philosophy) which seeks to explain by reasoning the relation between mortal life and immortal soul. Religion, however, assumes an Almighty Power which can be propitiated by devotion, prayer, and offerings.

The oldest extant text is the Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra which seems to belong to the Rāṇayaniya school of the Sāmaveda, and may be placed before B. C. 400 or 500 B. C. Another old text is the Hārita Dharmaśāstra in 30 chapters extant in one manuscript. Both these are mentioned in the Vasishṭha Dharmaśāstra preserved in fragments, which mentions Manu as an authority while it is quoted in the Manu-Smṛiti, which is the standard Dharmaśāstra. The Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra is interpolated and the Āpastambiya Dharmaśāstra is well preserved; both of these cannot be placed later than fourth or fifth century B. C. The Vaiśnava Dharmaśāstra which is in the shape of a dialogue between Viṣṇu and the Earth belongs to the Dharmasūtra of the Kāthaka school of the Black Yajurveda. The Vaikhāṇasa Dharmaśāstra in three chapters deals with the duties of the castes and of the different stages of life, predominantly with the period of life when asceticism should be practised. Of doubtful antiquity are the Dharmasūtras of the sages Śaṅkha and Likhita attached to the Atharvaveda, and of Uśanas, Kāśyapa, Brihaspati and others attached to the White Yajurveda.

The Mānava Dharmaśāstra or Manu-Smṛiti (B. C. 200 to 200 A.D.) is a complete and standard text of Dharmaśāstra. It is divided into twelve books. Book i contains a semi-philosophical account of creation. Book ii deals with the sources of law and describes the duties of the student life (Brahmachari). In Books iii-v the life of the householder (Grihastha) is elaborated with

reference to his marriage, daily rites, funeral offerings (iii), occupation and general rule of life (iv), lawful and forbidden food, impurity and purification, and rules as to woman (v). Book vi deals with the two further stages of life, the hermit in the forest (*Vanaprastha*) and the ascetic (*Sannyasa*). Book vii describes the duties of the king and develops the general political maxims. Books viii and ix give an account of civil and criminal laws including procedure, evidence and ordeals and eighteen topics; recovery of debts; deposit and pledge; sale without ownership; partnership concerns; subtraction of gifts; non-payment of wages; non-performance of agreement; rescission of sale and purchase; masters and herdsmen; disputes as to boundaries; defamation; assault and hurt; theft; violence; adultery; duties of husband and wife; inheritance and partition; gambling and wagers. Book x adds an account of the duties of kings, *Vaiśyas*, and *Śūdras*; of the mixed castes and the rules of caste-occupations in normal and abnormal times. Book xi deals with rules for gifts, sacrifices and penances. And Book xii follows the sinner to his retribution in the next life by the rules of transmigration, and deals with the means of attaining release (*Moksha*). Of the numerous commentators of the *Manu Smṛiti* *Medhatithi* belongs to earlier than ninth century, *Govindarāja* to the twelfth, and the popular *Kulluka* to the fifteenth century. Its great influence is attested in Burma, Siam, and Java also where it is authoritative.

The *Narada Smṛiti* subdivides titles of law into 132, has 15 kinds of slaves, 21 ways of acquiring property, 5 ordeals, 11 classes of witnesses, and lays great stress on records in procedure and written proofs. It exists in two recensions including a Nepalese one. *Asahāya* commented on it in the eighth century and *Bana* knows it in the seventh. Because of the mention of the Persian coin *Dinara* it is placed in the second century A. D., although *Parāse*'s inscriptions in India dates from B. C. 40. The *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti* exists in fragments. It is like a *Vārtika* (comment) on *Manu* but it approves the practice of widow burning. It is assigned to the sixth or seventh century.

The *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* comes after *Manu*. But its arrangement is better. Three chapters are devoted to the rules of conduct (*āchāra*), law (*vijavahāra*, usage)

and penances (*prayaścitya*). The eighteen topics of Manu, though not enumerated, are adhered to and two more are added, viz. relations of service and another on miscellaneous topics. It adds written documents to Manu's means of proof. New is an embryology taken from some medical treatise. But the general outlook is largely similar and *Morsha* (release) is won by the knowledge of self. It is assigned to 300 A. D. There is a very large number of important commentaries on it. The *Mitāksharā* of *Vijñāneśvara* written in the south in the eleventh century, constitutes an important treatise on law, was accepted in the Deccan, in Benares and in North India. *Ba'abhaṭṭa Vaidyanātha* and his wife *Lakshmi Devi* commented on it.

The *Smritis* of *Kātyāyana* and *Vyāsa* agree often with *Nārada* and *Bṛihaspati*. A *Parāśara* is mentioned as an authority by *Yājñavalkya* and *Medhatithi*, but the *Parāśara Smṛiti*, on which *Mādhava* wrote in 14th century an elaborate comment, is a later treatise. Other *Smritis* exist in indefinite numbers, one list mentions 152. The number of *Smritis* can be augmented from the Epic and the *Purāṇas* which contain long sections which might as well be *Smritis*.

As a result of the number of these *Smritis* kings ordered for practical purpose the compilations which from the twelfth century appeared as *Dharma-nibandha* (digests of law). The *Smṛiti-Kālpataṇḍu* of *Lakshmi-chara*, the foreign minister of *Govindachandra* of *Kanauj* (1105-1143), includes religious as well as civil and criminal laws, and the law of procedure. The *Brahmaṇa-śarvasva* written by *Halayudha* for king *Lakshmaṇa* (12th century) of Bengal deals with law and whole duty of a Brahman. Similar in character are *Devanna bhāṭṭa's Smṛiti-chandrikā* (about 1200), and *Hemadri's Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* written between 1160 and 1179 for *Yadava* princes, which contains rules of vows in enormous detail, offerings to gods, pilgrimage, offerings to the dead, and attainment of *Moksha* (release). The *Madana-parijāta* written by *V.śveśvara* for *Madarapala* (1360-1370) deals with religious duties and the law of succession. Similar were written the *Smṛiti-ratnākara* of *Chandēśvara* for *Harasimha-deva* (about 1325), and *Chintāmaṇi* of *Vachaspati* for *Hari Narāyaṇa* of *Mithila* (about 1510). *Jimutavāhana* (before 15th century) produced his legal work, *Dharmaratna*,

containing the famous *Dryabhāga* which dominates the views of Bengal on inheritance. In the following century Raghunānātha wrote his 98 *Tattvas* (treatise) which were specially accepted as regards ordeals, procedure and inheritance. In the 17th century were produced the *Nirnaya-sindhu* of Kamalakara, which is still an authority in the Maratha country, the *Bhagavanta-Bhāskara* of Nīlakaṇṭha and the encyclopedic treatise, *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra, which touches on astrology, medicine, and the doctrine of emancipation.¹

The *Manu-Smṛiti* may be considered as important for the Hindus as the Bible for the Christians although Nietzsche gave preference of it to the Bible. It is not merely important as a law-book. It ranks as the expression of a philosophy of life. The work has developed on the principle that 'all is perfectly ordered in a world created by the divine power, and regulated according to the principle of absolute justice by that power.' Heretics existed but they are passed over with condemnation. In a simple kingdom the Brahmins take the first place and in close accord with them abides the king; *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* forming the bulk of the people are recognized. There are the mixed castes also in which the *Yavana* and *Śaka* are pressed. A narrow sense of religion accounts for the treatment of small transgressions of etiquette as crimes requiring grave penalties hereafter, if not in this world, but remediable by penances. In the administration of law not merely the act but also the motive of the doer is recognized. Unlike the doctrine, held in the *Arthashastra* and in the Buddhist scripture, of a social contract which

1 The original distinction between the *Dharmasāstra*, *Smṛiti*, and *Dharma-Nibandhas* does not seem to have been maintained. The *Dharmasāstras* are written in prose and all others in verse. But the subject matters of *Dharmasāstra* and *Smṛiti* instead of confining to the caste duties include the duties of kings also. They deal with both religious law as well as criminal and civil laws which latter were the exclusive function of the *Dharmasāstra*. Although *Śruti* (holy writ) is the basic authority of the *Smṛiti*, the latter under the influence of the Epic deals with the practical illustration of principles of polity in addition to the usage of experts (*śiṣṭāchāra*) and the customs of places, castes, and families as sources of law. In order to secure the acceptance the *Smṛiti* proclaims divine provenance and assumes the utterances of the old sages. The same method has been followed by the *Nibandhas* also.

makes the king a mere wage-earner as in the modern time, Manu makes the king a divine creation. The work insists throughout on preferring the high to the low because in high place a nobler standard of conduct exists. But the law is exercised on ethical considerations whereby the maximum good of the largest number is aimed at.

Manu's high standard and earnestness for truth is upheld in the Narada smṛiti as in the admonishments directed to witnesses warning them that "truth made of winning purity, truth the ship that bears men to heaven, truth weighed against a thousand horse sacrifices outweighs them, truth is the highest oblation, the highest morality, the highest asceticism, the truth the summit of bliss, by telling truth man attains by himself the highest self which is itself truth". Yājñavalkya in his Smṛiti shows the high sense of Hindu Dharma (righteousness) in summing up the whole duty of man. "Truth (satya), honesty (asteya), mildness (akrodha), modesty (hri), purity (śauca), wisdom (dhi), firmness (dhṛiti), self control (dama), restraint of the senses (samyatā-indriyatā), learning (vidyā), all these make Dharma". In defining the duties of kings the highest place is given in creating freedom from want and from fear which is wrongly considered to be the most modern idea.¹ The claims of woman to property rights, which also looks like a modern development, was emphasized by Balabhatta Vaidyanātha and his wife Lakshmi Devī in commenting on the Mitāksharī of Viṣṇuśara which is a famous commentary on Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

Thus like all other branches of our literature the Dharma-śāstra also indicates a high standard of morality.

1 *Nataḥ parataro dharmo nripaṇam yad raparjitam,
Viprebhyo diyate dravyam prajābhyas chabhayam sadā.*

CHAPTER VII

ORIGINAL LITERATURES

(SANSKRIT, PALI, PRAKRIT)

Human thoughts are expressed in articulate sounds which form the speech and the spoken language. These are recorded in written language or literature by symbols known as scripts or letters of an alphabet. Human thoughts have also been preserved in arts, especially paintings, sculptures and architectures. The cultural condition and achievements concerning the state of civilization of a society are best shown by the quality, variety, and the quantity of these three groups of records.

Language—The speech or speeches of the Mohenjodaro period (B. C. 3000-2500) must remain obscure until the script and the language of the sign manuals are deciphered. But the speech of the Vedic period from B. C. 2500 is clear from the language in which the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature are found written. There is no doubt that Sanskrit is the language in which the Vedic Aryans used to speak. But "unlike Medieval Latin Sanskrit undergoes important changes in the course of its prolonged literary existence which even to-day is far from ended."¹

Although "the true home of the Śiṣṭas (Sanskrit-speaking people) is given by Patañjali as Āryāvarta the Deccan was also a home of Sanskrit. Even in Southern India, despite the existence of a vigorous Kanarese and Tamil literature, Sanskrit Inscriptions appear from the sixth century onwards, often mixed with Dravidian phrases, attesting the tendency of Sanskrit to become a Koine (of the Greeks), and Sanskrit left a deep impression even on the virile Dravidian languages. Ceylon fell under its influence, and Sinhalese shows marked traces of its operation on It. It reached the Sunda islands, Borneo, the Philippines, and in Java produced a remarkable development in the shape of the Kavi speech and literature. Adventurers of high rank founded

1 A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1938), p. 17.

kingdoms in Further India, where Indian names are already recorded by the geographer, Ptolemy, in the second century A. D. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa begin perhaps in that century, those of Cambodia before 600, and they bear testimony to the energetic study of Sanskrit grammar and literature. Of greater importance still was the passage of Sanskrit texts to Central Asia and their influence on China, Tibet and Japan¹.

This Aryan speech was the ancestor of all the speeches of India and Iran. "From the language of the *Rigveda* we can trace a steady development to Classical Sanskrit through the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The development, however, is of a special kind; it is not the spontaneous growth of a popular speech unhampered by tradition and unregulated by grammatical studies. The language of the tribes whose priests cherished the hymns of *Rigveda* was subject doubtless to all the normal causes of speech change, accentuated in all likelihood by the gradual addition to the community of non-Aryan elements as the earlier inhabitants of the north. Munda or Dravidian tribes fell under their control. But, at least in the upper classes of the population, alteration was opposed by the constant use of the sacred language and by the study devoted to it. The process was accentuated by the remarkable achievements of her early grammarians whose analytical skill far surpassed anything achieved until much later in the western world"².

We must not, however, exaggerate the activity of the grammarians to the extent of suggesting with some writers that Classical Sanskrit is an artificial creation, a product of the Brahmins when they sought to counteract the Buddhist creation of an artistic literature in Pali by recasting their own Prakritic speech with the aid of the Vedic language. It is, in point of fact, perfectly obvious that there is a steady progress through the later *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, and that the spoken language of Lāṇini's grammar is closely related to, though not identical with, the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the older *Upanishads*.

1 Keith, *Ibid*, p. 15-16.

2 Keith, *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

Nor in point of fact does classical Sanskrit present the appearance of an artificial product; simplified as it is in comparison with the redundant luxury of the Vedic texts, it yet presents no artificial symmetry, but rather admits exceptions in bewildering profusion, showing that the grammarians were not creators, but were engaged in a serious struggle to bring into handier shape a rather intractable material." 1

"Prakrits are clearly the derivatives from their prime source (prakriti) Sanskrit." 2 Prakrits were clearly dialects at their origin before they became literary language. Magadhi originated at Magadha and had two lower branches Chāṇḍali and Śākari. Sauraseni had its centre at Ujjain and its varieties are Dakṣiṇāya, Prācya, Avanti, and Dhakki or Takki. Mahārāshtri had its centre at Maratta country. Pāṣāchi originated in the North-Western province. Sir George Grierson classifies Prakrits in three great stages. Primary Prakrits are stated to be represented by the literary forms of the Vedic language and its successor Sanskrit. The Secondary Prakrits are represented in literature by Pāli, by the Prakrits of the grammarians, of the drama and literature generally; and the Tertiary Prakrits by the modern vernaculars.

These vernaculars, according to Pischel and Grierson, are collectively known as Apabhraṃśa. Thus the modern vernaculars are derived from the various local Apabhraṃśas. From Sauraseni or Nāgara Apabhraṃśa came Western Hindi, Rājasthāni, and Gujrati; from Mahārāshtra Apabhraṃśa Marāṭṭi; from Magadha Apabhraṃśa Bengali, Bihari, Assamese and Oriya; from Ardha Māgadhī Eastern Hindi; from Vṛāchada Sindhi; and from Kaikeya Āndra.

1 Keith, *ibid.*, p. 7.

2 There is, however, a difference of opinions:

Pischel (*Grammar*, 1900, 1, 16) reverses the position where he holds that Prakrit is what comes at once from nature and what all people without special instruction can understand. Keith is unable to decide and surmises 'speeches other than Sanskrit received the name'. Grammarians think Prakrits as artificial literary dialects. They are also thought to be the Indian vernaculars prior to the period when the modern vernaculars became fixed.

Thus from the Vedic period till the present time the spoken language are Sanskrits, Prakrits, Apabhraṃśas, and the modern vernaculars. There are also literature varying in extent and quality in all these languages. All these are regulated by their respective grammars. Thus as spoken languages they are much above the speech of the primitive people, which has no discernible laws. As Sanskrit is the prime source (prakṛiti) of the subsequent civilized speeches, a brief account of the laws regulating the Sanskrit speech should be enough to show the cultural importance and the level of Hindu civilization so far as language is concerned.

The Vedic Sanskrit speech had its accent in as many as three forms, *viz* Udatta, Anudatta, and Svarit. Faulty utterance was terribly punished as indicated by the well-known story that a devotee who underwent great penance for a son got one to be killed by, instead of killing, Indra, for which he prayed.¹ The precision of pronunciation regulated by accents has, however, been given up since the Vedic Sanskrit changed into classical Sanskrit, Prakrits, Apabhraṃśa and Vernaculars (modern languages).

The classical Sanskrit and the Prakrits, Apabhraṃśas and vernaculars to a certain extent have retained, however, the division of sound of speech into vowels and consonants.² Further distinction of vowels into short, long and diphthong, and the grouping of consonants according to the organs of production (the nose; tongue touching different parts of velum, palate, gum, teeth and lips) show the scientific knowledge of phonology on which there is a class of treatise known as Śikshā. Morphology deals with the analysis of words as they undergo changes by prefixes and

1 Accent differentiates meanings; thus Indra-śatru may be pronounced to mean the killer (śatru) of Indra, or one of whom Indra is the killer (śatru).

2 Vowels (and some consonants) are produced by the vibration of the vocal chords. Thus theoretically the number of possible vowels is limitless. Of all languages Sanskrit possesses some fourteen vowels. The difference between a, i, u, etc., is the difference of quality caused by the special configuration adopted by the resonance chamber of pharynx, mouth and nose. Consonants are produced mainly in the oral and the nasal passages. Sanskrit possesses fourteen vowels, and thirty-three consonants grouped most scientifically according to the organs of pronunciation.

suffixes indicating the genders and numbers of nouns and cases; numbers and times of verbs are elaborately treated in innumerable grammars. Semasiology or the history of the meanings of words is discussed in a large number of lexicons. The syntax or the order of word in a sentence, which is the fourth aspect of the modern science of language, is, however, missing in both Vedic and classical Sanskrit, but is retained to a certain extent by Prakrits, Apabhramśa, and Vernaculars.

VEDAS

The word *Veda* means 'knowledge', the knowledge par excellence, the sacred and religious knowledge. It does not imply *one* single literary work like the Koran of the Muslims, nor a complete collection of books compiled at some particular time like the Bible of the Christians or the Tripitaka of the Buddhists. It is on the other hand "a whole great literature" which developed in the course of many centuries. On account of its great age and contents it was finally declared as 'sacred knowledge and divine revelation. Throughout at least 3,000 years millions of Hindus have worked on the word of the Veda as the word of God, and that the Veda has given them their standard of thought and feeling." Professor Winternitz declares that "as the oldest Indo-European literary monument, a prominent place in the history of world literature is due to the Veda."

The Vedic literature consists of three different classes of literary works. The *Samhitās* are 'collections' of hymns, prayers, incantations, benedictions, sacrificial formulas and litanies. *Brāhmaṇas* deal with theological matters like observations on sacrifice and the practical significance of the separate sacrificial rites and ceremonies. The *Āraṇyakas* in the forest texts of the *Brāhmaṇas* contain the meditations of forest hermits and ascetics on God, the world, and the mankind. The *Upanishads* thereof deal with the secret doctrines and contain a good deal of the oldest Indian philosophy. There is another class of works connected with the Vedas. They are not considered as 'revealed and known as the *Sūtras* or manuals on ritual. Of these the *Śrauta-sūtras* contain rules for the performance of the great sacrifices. The *Grihya-sūtras* contain directions for the simple ceremonies and

sacrificial acts of daily life at birth, marriage, death and so on. The Dharma-sūtras are the oldest law books and deal with spiritual and secular laws. The Kalpa-sūtras combine the Śrauta and Grihya sūtras.

There once existed a large number of Samhitās originated in different schools of priests and singers. Many of these 'collections' were, however, nothing but slightly divergent recensions (śākhā or branch) of one and the same Samhitā. Four Samhitās are in existence preserved in one or more recensions, which differ clearly from each other.

The Rigveda Samhitā exists in the recension of Śākala school. It consists of 1028 hymns (suktas) divided into ten Maṇḍala or eight Aṣṭaka. The majority of the oldest hymns are found in Maṇḍala II to VII which are known as the family books because each is ascribed to a particular family of singers or seers, viz., Gṛtsamada, Viśvamitra, Vamadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja and Vasishṭha. Book VIII is ascribed to the race of Kapvas and Aṅgīrasas. The Anukramaṇī (Vedic index) gives the names of the seers of every single hymn of Books I, IX and X; this list contains the names of women also. Book IX dedicated to Soma contains exclusively hymns which glorify the drink of Soma. The latest hymns are found in Books I and X which are composed of very diversified elements. The Khilas are supplement; the eleven Balakhilya hymns are found at the end of Book VIII. The antiquity of the Rigveda is indicated by its language and geographical and cultural conditions of the time. The Aryans still domiciled the river land of the Indus. The songs refer to battles with the Dasyus or aborigines. The famous river Ganga in the east was still unknown. The lotus flower was not yet a subject of metaphors. The fig tree Nyagrodha was still missing. Rice is not yet mentioned. The prayer for cattle and horses occurs. Mention is made of wood-workers and metal workers including carpenter, carriage-builder, cabinet-maker and smiths. Shipping is mentioned. Trade was carried on in which oxen and ornaments were the medium of exchange. Despite extensive trade and commerce, and agricultural and industrial workers there was yet no caste-division although in a late hymn of Book X Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are mentioned. Certain hymns refer to incest, seduction,

conjugal unfaithfulness, forced abortion, deception, theft and robbery. The Aryans are shewn as an active, joyful and warlike people of both simple and polished habits and of the effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic trait which grew later in Indian literature.

Yaska of about B. C. 400 explained in his *Nirukta* the Vedic verses on which Śaṅkara in the 14th century A. D. wrote his commentary. 'As works of poetic art the hymns deserve a prominent place in the world literature'.

The word 'Sāman' implies melodies. The melodies of Sāmaveda were looked upon as possessing magic power. The Sama-Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa prescribes various Sāman for magic purposes. The recitation of the Rīgveda and Yajurveda is stopped at the 'tones of Sāman and noise made by donkeys, wolves, jackals, owls, weeping, musical instruments, and chanting of Sāman.' Thus Sama-veda is important for the history of music.

Of the traditional 1000 Sāmkitas of the Sāmaveda only three exists, viz., the recensions of Rāṇyāṇīyas, Kauthamas and Jaiminiyas. It comprises 1810 verses of which 261 are repeated twice. Thus of the total of 1549 verses all but 75 are taken from books VIII and IX of the Rīgveda. These 75 also are pieced together out of sundry verses of the Rīgveda. There are however some divergent readings in the Sāmaveda. It consists of two parts, Ārchika and Uttara-Ārchika. The emotional melody is prescribed for the former part and singing at sacrifices for the latter. Ārchika consists of 585 verses wherefrom melody or tune proceeds and Uttara-Ārchika contains 400 Samans or chants, that is, songs, tune and melody. There are songs to be sung in the village (grāma-geya-gāna) and forest songs (araṇya-gāna). The metre is mostly Gayatri and partly Pragāthā which is a combination of Gayatri and Jagati.

The word Yajus implies sacrificial prayer. Hence Yajurveda is the prayer book. It is formed partly of prose formulas which are rhythmical and poetical and partly of verses. Single verses but not the whole hymns are taken from the Rīgveda but there are different readings.

Prayer refers to offerings only to Agni, Indra, etc., under numerous epithets like Śata Rudra as mentioned

in Book XVI, while prayer is made the wife of the priest, Adhvaryu joins the husband being tied together by a rope. There are spells also and the mystic formulas like *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *vashaḥ*, *om*, *bhuḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, etc., as in the *Kaṭha-upanishad* (11-16) are found used for the first time. The later Tantras also use such mystic formulas. Thus this Veda shows the origin, development and significance of prayer, science of religion, origin of prose, source of Upanishads, and *Brahmaṇas*.

Pāṇini refers to 101 schools of this Veda, five of which exist and are ascribed to the seers *Kaṭhaka*, *Kapisthala*, *Maitrāyaṇiya*, *Taittirīya* of the Black section and *Vājasaneyi* of the White section. The former section is called Black (*krishṇa*) because there is a mixture of Mantra (hymn) and *Brahmaṇa* (commentary). The White (*śveta*) section contains only Mantras consisting of prayer and sacrificial formulas. It has 40 sections of which last 15 are of late origin. The first two deal with prayer to New and Full Moon sacrifices (*daśapūrṇamāsa*) and oblations to fathers (*pitṛipinda*). Section III refers to prayer to daily fire cult (*Agnihotra*) and season (*chāturmāsya*). Sections IV to VIII deal with Soma and animal sacrifices, IX and X refer to the *Vājapeya* (drink of strength) and *Rajasūya* sacrifices; XI to XVIII describe fire altars (*agni-chayana*) made of 10800 bricks laid in various order; XIX to XXI deal with *Sautrāmanī* sacrifices to *Aśvin*, *Sarasyatī*, *Indra*, etc.; XX to XXV describe the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*); XXVI to XXXI are *Khilas* or supplementary to prayers; XXX deals with human sacrifice (*purushamedha*); XXXI contains a version of the *Puruṣa-sukta* of the *Rigveda*, XXXII refers to the secret doctrine (*upanishad*) of the human sacrifice; XXXIII to XXXIV deal with all other sacrifices (*sarvamedha*) of which XXXIV refers to all the secret doctrines (*sarva-kalpa-upanishad*); XXXV refers to funeral prayers; XXXVI to XXXIX and XL contain the secret doctrine of God, the *Iśa-upanishad*. The Black *Yajurveda* is the same for the first half. Thus the sacrificial characteristics of this Veda is clear.

The word *Atharva* implies holy magic and *Angiras* denotes hostile magic. The *Atharva-Veda* is the Veda of *Atharvans* and *Angiras* priests.

It consists of 731 hymns comprising 6,000 verses divided into 20 books. The whole of the 20th book and about one-seventh of the rest are taken literally from the Rigveda. Books 1 to XIV in prose is of the Brahmana style. Books II, IV, V and VII contain theosophical hymns at the beginning. Book XIV contains only marriage prayers, and Book XVIII only funeral hymns. Metres are like those of the Rigveda but language shows later trait. The lateness of this Veda is further indicated by the mention of animals like the tiger of eastern countries, of four castes, of gods like Agni, Indra, &c., being represented as demon-killers; theosophy and cosmogony of the later age. But Professor Winternitz would place this Veda before the Sāmaveda and Yajurveda.

Here the purpose of the hymns appear to be to appease demons, to bless friends, and to curse enemies. The importance lies in taking more practical steps for worldly good. Thus songs and spells are used to remove diseases like fever and cough of which symptoms are described. This is the oldest system of medical science. Prayers are, however, made for health and long life; and benediction is sought for farmer, shepherd and merchant. There are formulae and spells for cleansing from guilt and sin. There are also spells for the restoration of love and harmony between husband and wife, and for success of marriage. There are songs and charms for sacrifices also. The philosophy and cosmogony of this Veda are of the same type as of the Upanishads.

The Rigveda has been recognised as the earliest literature of the world. The chronology of the other Vedas is, however, uncertain. General consensus of opinion is that the Sāmaveda, the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda followed in order the Rigveda. No precise dating of the Vedas is possible. The main three sources of information, *viz.* Archaeological, Geological and Astronomical, do not help in ascertaining the Vedic age. No antiquities of the Vedic age have yet been discovered. Of the Geological evidence reference to the sea, land, mountains, rivers, plants, etc., do not show any clue. It appears that when the Indo-Aryans came here India was of the same geological and geographical conditions as it is now. Regarding the

Regarding the Astronomical evidence mention of certain constellation which takes place periodically might have helped to ascertain the Vedic age. But the astronomical passages of the Vedic texts admit of various interpretation. However correct the astronomical calculations may be, owing to ambiguous interpretation Bala Gangadhar Tilak's theory referring to the existence of the Rigveda in B. C. 6000 has not been accepted by many scholars. Of the internal historical facts mention of the Vedic gods in cuneiform inscriptions and the relationship of Vedic antiquity to the Aryan or Indo-Iranian and Indo-European period is also uncertain. Most divergent and contradictory conclusions have been drawn from them. Nevertheless the relations between ancient India and Western Asia or Asiatic point to the Vedic culture being traced back at least to the second millennium B. C. as stated by Professor Winternitz. But the linguistic facts shewn by a comparison of the language of the Veda and that of the Zend Avesta and that of the classical Sanskrit literature do not yield any positive results. The surest evidence in this respect is still the fact that Parsva, Mahavira, and the Buddha presuppose the entire Veda as a literature to all intents and purposes completed. Thus the end of the Veda must be earlier than the seventh or sixth century B. C. The development of the whole of this great literature must have taken at best 2000 years. Thus Professor Winternitz concludes that "We shall have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B. C. and the end of it between 750 and 500 B. C."

This conclusion is suggested and supported by the Mohenjo-daro discoveries of the chalcolithic or mixed stone and metallic age between B. C. 3250 and 2750. Clear literary references in the Vedas to the articles of food, clothes, ornaments of precious metals, house and furniture, and to the agricultural and industrial implements and objects show the later and improved period. On the basis of the same conclusions scholars have allotted the period of B. C. 2500 to 1500 as the time when the Vedic hymns were composed and the next 500 years till B. C. 1000 for the compilation of the hymns into the four Vedas and for the growth of the commentaries known as the Brahmanas. During the third and last period of the Vedic age covering some

250 years and ending B. C. 750 developed the early Sūtra class of literature written in unaccented words resembling the classical Sanskrit style.

BRĀHMAṆAS

Brāhmaṇas are the commentaries of the Vedas. The word means explanation or utterance of a learned priest upon any point of ritual and exposition. All these treatises are divided into two distinctive parts known as Vidhi or rule and Arthavāda or explanation. For instance the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa lays down the rule that the priest should touch water for purification before he commences any priestly duty, because people are impure on account of speaking untruth, etc., and water purifies the body and the mind. This is followed by a discussion *e. g.*, if the priest should fast for the same purpose of purification. Thus the discussion leads to the tracing of etymologies of terms like Upasatha (fast). Discussion also includes how the sacrifice is identified with the Prajāpati (creator) or Viṣṇu; or which prayers (mantras) should be selected for utterance for a sacrifice performed with a view to getting a son who would be able to kill an enemy. Sexual morality, etc.; are also discussed. By way of illustration of the success or failure of a sacrifice stories like those of Śunahsepha, king Harischandra and others are related.

Each of the first three Vedas has its own Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas of the Rig-Veda emphasise the duties of the Hotri priest, those of the Yajurveda that of the Adhvaryu priest, and those of the Samaveda that of the Udgatri priest. The Aitareya and the Kausitaki or Sankhyayana are the chief Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda. The Aitareya consists of 8 Panchakas comprising 40 adhyāyas or chapters which deal with the Soma sacrifices like Agnihotra and Rājasūya. The Kausitaki or Sankhyayana in 38 chapters deals, in chapters I-VI, with food sacrifices performed on the occasion of the new and the full moon and seasons, and in chapters VII-XXX with Soma sacrifices as in the Aitareya. Of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sama-Veda the Tāndya, the Śhādvīṃsa and the Jaiminiya Talavakāra are well known. They deal with the same subjects as the Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda. But the Tāndya, otherwise

called *Pañcha-Vimśa* because of its 25 chapters, contains the oldest legends and describes the *Vratya* ceremonies dealing with the purification of those who were not initiated in proper time. The *Shakaviṃśa* of 26 chapters being a supplement to the *Pañchaviṃśa* of 25 chapters deals in the last chapter called *Adbhuta* or wonderful with miracles and omens. Of the *Brahmaṇas* of the Black *Yajurveda* the *Kāthaka-taittirīya* is in continuation of the *Saṁhitā* itself and deals among other usual objects with the *Puruṣa-medha* or human sacrifice. Of the white *Yajurveda* the *Śatapatha Brahmana* is the most famous. It is so called because it consists of 100 chapters, of which chapter XIV is ascribed to *Yājñavalkya*, and chapters VI and IX to *Sāṁdilya*. Among other things it describes the *Aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice, ceremonies of *Pravargya*, *Agni-chayana*, *upanayana* or initiation, *veda-vratas* or duties of student life, *śrāddhas* or ancestral worship, etc. Under the *Atharva-veda* no *Brahmana* exists.

Thus the main function of all the *Brahmaṇas* proper is the laying down of the precise rules and regulations for the performance of a sacrifice. The *Āraṇyakas* (or forest books) though independently belong to the *Vedas* form the first part of the speculative portion of the *Brahmaṇas*. They generally discuss theology and are meant for the *Vanaprastha* stage of pious men who have retired to the forest (*aranya*) and are no longer required to perform all the five daily sacrifices like the householders of the *Garhastya* stage of life. Similarly the *Upanishads* which also exist independently form the last portion of the *Brahmaṇas*. They are so called because they were originally intended to deal with the secret or esoteric doctrine to be communicated to the pupil by his teacher in the solitude of the forest instead of at the village, and the relation between the individuals and the Creator.

The *Brahmaṇas*, therefore, are records of both the sacrificial deeds, and theological and philosophical thoughts. The former function is predominantly concerned with 'matter' and the latter with 'spirit', thus the *Brahmanical* literature has no beauties of its 'form'. The earlier portion, however, contains accent marks but the latter parts are devoid of this nicety of pronunciation and approach the 'form' of the classical Sanskrit.

Regarding the age of the Brahmana literature scholars have agreed to place the old and genuine Brahmanas to the pre-Buddhist period.

ARANYAKAS AND UPANISHADS

The Aranyakas or forest texts are the appendices to the Brahmanas as stated above. Originally they were intended to be the guide books for the retired Vanaprastha or forest life. They were of a secret character and for that reason might only be taught and learnt in the forest, and not in the villages. Of the four Asramas (stages) of the Brahmanical ideal of life, viz. Brahmacharya for student life, Garhastya for the house holder life, Vanaprastha for the retired life in forest, and Sannyasa or life of complete renunciation, the importance of the forest life was emphasised by the separate existence of the Aranyakas or the forest texts. The Aitareya and Kaushitaki Aranyakas belong to the Rigveda. Tittiriya to the Black Yajurveda, and the Madhyandina-Vajasaneyi and Kanviya Brahmanas to the White Yajurveda. No Brahmanas of the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda exist. The main contents of these texts deal no longer with rules for the performance of the sacrifices and the explanation of the ceremonies but elucidate the mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice, and priestly philosophy.

The term 'upanishad' literally implies 'sitting near'. Hence its original meaning is 'the sitting down of the initiated pupil near the teacher (guru or preceptor) for the purpose of a confidential communication of the secret doctrine (rahasya) concerning the relation between the Creator and the created individuals. This secret knowledge was not intended for the masses but was communicated only within a narrow circle of privileged persons. This system is still continued especially among the various classes of hermits and ascetics. The secret and mysterious doctrine of the Upanishads took, however, various forms. Generally it is a profound philosophical doctrine, but at times it refers to 'some futile symbolism or allegory, and a symbolical sacrifice serving as magic which are actually jumbled up in the Atharva-veda-upanishads. As stated in the Grihya-sutra of Asvalayana (i. 13, 1) certain rites connected with conception, procreation of male child, etc., are taught in

a 'upanishad'. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramanikā* calls a charm in the *Rigveda* (i, 191) as a 'upanishad'. The chapter XIV of the *Kautilya Arthashastra* (manual of politics) is called the 'Upanishadic chapter' where are taught magic rites for the purpose of arson, assassination, blinding, etc. Similarly in a upanishadic chapter (VII) of the *Kamaśāstra* (manuals of erotics) Vātsyāyana discloses secret prescriptions relating to sexual intercourse and to cosmetics. The *Pāñcharatna-sāstra* is called a great 'upanishad' by Rāmānuja (on *Brahma-sūtra*, II, 2. 43).

The oldest and more authentic Upanishads, however, are in part included in the *Āraṇyakas* only, and in part appended to them. It is, therefore, difficult to draw the line between the *āraṇyakas* and the Upanishads proper both being supplements to the *Brahmaṇas*. These are the *Vedānta* proper, both in the sense of 'the end' or concluding portion of the *Veda* and of the 'final aim' of the *Veda*. Thus 'vedānta' originally implied only the Upanishads, the word, being later used to mean a particular system of philosophy based on the Upanishads.

Thus the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Rigveda* includes the *Aitareya Upanishad* and the *Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa* of the same *Veda* contains the *Kaushitaki Upanishad*. Similarly the *Taittiriya* and *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishads*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇīya* also belong to the same *Veda*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *White Yajurveda* contains an *āraṇyaka* in Book XIV which includes the *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*. The *Īśa Upanishad* also belongs to the same *Veda*. The *Keṇa Upanishad* and the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* of the *Tāndya Mahābrāhmaṇa* belong to the *Sāmaveda*. The *Mundaka*, the *Maṇḍūkya*, and the *Praśna Upanishads* belong to the *Atharvaveda*. The six earliest Upanishads known as the *Aitareya*, *Brihadāraṇyaka*, *Chhāndogya*, *Taittiriya Kaushitaki*, composed in clumsy prose and *Keṇa* otherwise called *Tavalkara* partly in prose and partly in verse contain pure *Vedānta* doctrine in original form are dated in the same period in which the corresponding *Āraṇyakas* and *Brahmaṇas* are placed before the *Gautama Buddha*. About the same period but later in date are also dated the *Kaṭha*, *Śvetāśvatara* and

Mahānarayana Upanishads of the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka of the Black Yajurveda, Iśa Upanishad of the White Yajurveda, and the Muṇḍaka and Praśna Upanishads of the Atharvaveda. The first five of these six are composed mostly in verse and the last partly in prose. These also contain the Vedānta doctrine which is, however, mixed with the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga philosophies. Śaṅkarachārya mentioned in his commentary on the Brahmasūtra twelve upanishads, as sacred, and excluded the mention of the rest. The Maitrāyaṇīya Upanishad of the Black Yajurveda which is written in classical Sāṅskṛit prose, and the Māṇḍukya Upanishad of the Atharva-veda composed partly in prose and partly in verse are placed in the post Buddha period. These fourteen are considered as the Vedic Upanishads and the sources of the earliest Indian philosophy.

There are some 200 non-Vedic Upanishads of uncertain later dates. They are more related to the Purāṇas and the Tantras. They deal more with religious dogmas rather than the philosophical doctrines of the earlier Upanishads. In consideration of their contents Professor Winternitz has classified the non-Vedic Upanishads into six groups, viz., those which present the Vedānta doctrines, those which teach the Yoga philosophy, those which extol the life of renunciation (sannyāsa), those which glorify Viṣṇu, those which praise Śiva as the highest divinity, and those which glorify the mother goddess Śakti of the Tāntric worshippers. These are written partly in prose and partly in verse. For instance the Jāvala Upanishad deals with cosmogony, physiology, psychology and metaphysics. The Garbha Upanishad, which reads like a treatise on embryology, refers to the meditation on embryo in order to prevent rebirth in new womb. Similar subjects are treated in the Upanishads like the Atharvaśīras, and the Vajrasuchika which defines a Brahman as one knowing the god Brahman. Another collection of 50 Upanishad was translated in Persian in 1656 under the title of Oupnek'hat.

The philosophy of the Upanishads, in other word the fundamental doctrine which pervades all the genuine Upanishads and which has made them so popular, has been summed up in the sentence that 'the universe is the Brahman, but the Brahman is the

Ātman.' Philosophically the same idea is expressed by another sentence that 'the world is God, and God is my soul.' The entire thought resolves around the two conceptions of Brahman and Ātman. Brahman is interpreted as the craving and fullness of Ātman, hence it is the will of man. In the Vedas it is used in the sense of prayer, formula, sacred knowledge. Thus it means the Divine principle which is the cause of existence and resembles the Jewish Divinity. It is the creator God. Ātman of unknown etymology, may have been derived from a root meaning to breathe. Hence it means breath, self, and soul. It denotes "one's own person, one's own body in contrast to the outside world, sometimes the trunk in contrast to the limbs, but most frequently the soul, the true self, in contrast to the body." These two conceptions of Brahman and Ātman have been united in the philosophy of Upanishads. Thus Śaṅkilya declares that Brahman and Ātman are one, and 'truly, this All is Brahman.' Professor Decsen in his 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' elucidates the conceptions by stating that "The Brahman, the power which presents itself to us materialised in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds, this eternal infinite divine power is identical with the Ātman, with that which, after stripping off everything external, we discover in ourselves as our real most essential being, our individual self, the soul". This Upanishad dictum holding the doctrine of the unity of the world with the Brahman and of the Brahman with the Ātman was later expressed in the well known words 'tat tvam asi', that art thou, that is, the universe and the Brahman, that art thou thyself. In other words the world exists only in so far as thou thyself art conscious of it. This confessed faith of millions of Indians still continues amongst us.

SŪTRAS

The Sūtra class of literature is treated as unrevealed though it has developed from the Vidhi or rule portion of the Brahmana class. Thus their main function is to compile rules concerning the sacrifices, sacraments and secular and religious custom and usage. Sūtras are divided into three main classes known Śrauta, Grihya, and Dharma but there is a further

division called Kalpa of which a portion is known as Sulva. The Śrauta-sūtras deal generally with the Vedic sacrifices compiling the rules for practical purposes of the priests in doing sacrificial rituals in a shorter and connected form than in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. Thus there are rules, for instance, concerning the laying of sacrificial fire, etc. The Grihya-sūtras similarly deal with the Grihya rites or domestic ceremonies. Thus there are rules in connected form concerning the sacraments including marriage, five-fold daily sacrifices of the householder, the duties of the student life (Brahmacharya), of the forest life (Vanaprastha) and of the renunciation (Sanyasa). The Grihya sūtras of Gautama, Angirasa and Āśvalayana are well known. The Dharma Sūtras like those of Manu and others deal with dharma or right, duty and law derived from religion, custom and usage. Thus there are both religious and secular laws governing the duties of four castes, four stages (āśrama) of life, and of the king and ruler. The laws of public administration includes the system of taxes and revenues, the machinery of government, the court of justice, the method of punishment, etc. In some Vedic schools the Śrauta and Grihya Sūtras are combined and jointly known as the Kalpa-sūtra. The Sulva-sūtras like those of Baudhāyana and Āpastambha are supplements to the Kalpasūtras. The term Sulva means measuring string. They deal with rules of mensuration and geometry which were required for the construction of the place of sacrifice and fire altars. Full particulars about the shape of different altars¹ and the bricks which were employed for their construction. Every one of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together came up to the height of the knee; in some cases 10 or 15 layers, and the proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks, so

1. The types of altars are described. They are known as Śyenachit of the falcon shape made of square bricks. Kanka chit of the heron shape, Alajachit without the additional wings. Praugachit of equilateral triangular shape, ubhayatah Praugachita made up of two such triangles joined at their bases, Rathachakra-chit in the form of a wheel with sixteen spokes or without spokes. Drona-chit of square or circular shape, Parichayya-chit or where bricks are placed in six concentric circles, Samuhya-chit in circular shape, and Karma-chit in triangular or circular shape.

that the whole altar contained a thousand.

Of the existing *Sulvas* the *Āśvvalāyana* and *Saṅkha-*
yana, both *Kalpa-sūtras*, belong to the *Rigveda*. To the
Sāmaveda also the only *Kalpa-sūtras* are known as the
Lṛtyāyana, *Gobhila* and *Jaiminiya*. The *Kalpa-sūtras*
of the *Black Yajurveda* are known as the *Baudhāyana*,
Āpastamba, *Hiraṇya-keśi*, and *Bharaḍvāja*. The *Mānava*
Dharma-sūtra also belongs to the same *Veda*. The
Katyāyana Kalpa-sūtra belongs to the *White Yajurveda*.
The *Kaushitaki Kalpa-sūtra* and the *Vaitāna-brāuta-*
sūtra are placed under the *Atharva-veda*.

VEDĀNGAS

The *Vedāṅgas* or limbs or members of the *Veda*
are works composed in the *Sūtra* style and deal with
'matter' rather than 'spirit' or 'form' and have, there-
fore, no claim to scriptural sacredness and poetic beauty.
They are known as *Śikṣā* or phonetics, *Chhandas* or
metre, *Vyākaraṇa* or grammar, *Nirukta* or etymology,
Kalpa or religious practice and ritualistic precepts,
and *Jyotiṣa* or astronomy¹. The first aids the
correct reciting and the understanding of the sacred

Śikṣā ghrāṇaṁ tu vedasya hastau Kalpo'ṥha paṭhyate !

Jyotiṣe nayanāṁ mukhaṁ vyākaraṇaṁ smṛitam !!

Chhandas pādau tu Vedasya !!

The limbs of the *Veda-purūṣa* consist of metres as the feet :
one cannot walk or proceed on without feet, so also no progress in
the understanding of the *Veda* is possible without a knowledge of the
Vedic metres in which the *Vedic verses* are composed, and which
measure the steps or lines of the verses.

The *Kalpa-sūtras* dealing with rules on rituals are like hands
and arms of the *Veda* because the *vedic sacrifices*, which are the main
purpose and means of getting the chief object, *viz.* salvation, can be
correctly performed only through the directions of the *Kalpa-sūtras*.

The *Śikṣā* is stated to be the nose through which the smell
of the sweetness of *Vedic sounds* can be realised.

The *Vyākaraṇa* or grammar really includes the *Nirukta* which
deals with one phase of the word-analysis (*viz.* etymology) only. It
is called the mouth of the *Veda*, because the real taste of *Vedic*
words can be realised through the analysis of *Vedic words* in all its
aspects.

Lastly *Jyotiṣa* or astronomy is stated to be the eye of the
Veda : the function of the eyes is to see and astronomy leads one
to gaze beyond this limited world as it explains the relation of this
world with the whole universe.

texts; and the last two deal with religious rites, and their proper seasons.

The Śikṣā (phonetics) class of literature is referred to in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (VII. 1) dealing "with letters, accounts, quantity, pronunciation, and euphonic (sandhi) rules. Several works having the title of Śikṣā have been preserved. They are short manuals containing directions for Vedic recitation and correct pronunciation.

The treatises known as Pratisākhyaas more exclusively deal with Vedic phonetics as they are directly connected with the Saṁhitā-pāṭha and Padapāṭha of the Vedic hymns. They furnish an account of euphonic combination (sandhi) and rules of phonetics. Of the four of these treatises one belongs to the Rīgveda, one to the Atharvaveda and two to the Yajur-veda being attached to the Vajasaneyi and Taittirīya saṁhitā respectively. The Pratisākhya-sūtra of the Rīgveda, ascribed to Saunaka, the teacher of Āśvalayana, is an extensive work in three books; it was later epitomised in a short treatise Upalekha. The Taittirīya Pratisākhya is ascribed to twenty authors and the Vajasaneyi Pratisākhya to Kātyāyana. The Atharva Pratisākhya belongs to the school of Saunakas, contains four chapters and deals with grammar more than the other works. There are Anukramaṇi or indices, lists and catalogues of all metres, sages, etc.

Chhandas or metrics deal chiefly with metrics which are treated in the Sāṁkhyayana Śrauta-sūtra (7, 27), Rik-Pratisākhya, the Nidāna-sūtra of Sāmaveda, Chhanda-sūtra of Pīṅgala, and two Anukramaṇis (indices) of Kātyāyana.

Vyākaraṇa or grammar deals with grammatical analysis which is shown by the Padapāṭhas, for they separate both the parts of compounds and the prefixes of verbs, as well as certain suffixes and terminations of nouns. The four parts of speech (pada-jātāni), which had already existed, was first mentioned by Yaska as nāman (nouns) including Sarvaṇsman (pronouns), Ākhyāta (predicate including verb), upasarga (preposition), and Nipāta (particle). Varṇa (letters), Vrihan (masculine), Vachana (number), and Vibhakti (case ending) had already been mentioned in the Brahmanas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. Thus before Yaska's

time (B. C. 400) grammatical studies had been cultivated and he mentions twenty grammarians including Śakāṭāyana, Gārgya, and Śākalya. Yaska mentions the personal terminations and the tense affixes of the verb and the primary (krit) and secondary (taddhita) nominal suffixes. In fact on Śakāṭāyana's theory of the verbal origin of nouns the whole system of Pāṇini is founded. Rules of Pāṇini deal with the Vedic forms as exceptions to the classical forms. He is considered "an infallible authority" and has superseded all his predecessors whose works have consequently perished, and his work entirely dominates all the subsequent grammatical literature.

Nirukta Vedāṅga is represented by Yaska alone of the fifth century B. C. But his Nighaṇṭus or collections of (rare or obscure) Vedic words were based upon five such preceding collections. The first three of these contain groups of synonyms, the fourth difficult words, and the fifth a classification of the Vedic gods. Yaska explains in twelve books. The first deals with the principles of grammar and exegesis; the second and third elucidate synonyms, the fourth, fifth, and sixth comment on the difficult words, and the seventh to twelfth on the Vedic gods.

The next and only other Vedic commentary is that of Sayana's Bhāṣya which was composed in the fourteenth century A. D. Kalpa-vedāṅga is different from the Kalpa-sūtra which combines the functions of Śrauta-sūtras which deal with the sacrifices and of the Grihyasūtras which deal with the sacraments. As a Vedāṅga the Kalpa is more properly called Parīśiṣṭa (supplements) which both elaborate and supplement subjects of the Kalpa-sūtra. Thus the Rīgveda has the Āśvalāyana Grihya-parīśiṣṭa in four chapters. The Sāmaveda has the Gobhila Grihya Saṁgraha-parīśiṣṭa with a special leaning towards magical rites. The White Yajurveda has a similar supplement ascribed to Kaytāyana and Gobhila, and called variously Chhandogya-grihya-parīśiṣṭa, Chhandogya-parīśiṣṭa, Gobhila-smṛiti and also Karma-pradīpa; it deals with the same matters as the Sāmaveda supplement.

There are a few more treatises which bear the supplementary character. The Prayogas are the manuals which describe the course of each sacrifice and functions of the priests as indicated in the Śrauta-sūtras.

They exist in manuscript only. Paddhatis are the guides which sketch the contents of the Grihyasutras. They also exist in manuscript. Karikas are versified accounts of the ritual. They are further supplements to the Prayogas and the Paddhatis. The first Karika is attributed to Kumarila of 700 A. D.

Anukramanis are the Vedic Indices. They give lists of the hymns, the authors, the metres, and the deities in the order in which they occur in the various Samhitas. To the Rigveda belong seven of these works in metrical verses, attributed to Saunaka. Five of them have been preserved. The one known as Arshanukramani which gives a list of the seers (rishis) of the Rigveda. The Chhandanukramani enumerates the metres in which the hymns of the Rigveda are composed, states for each book the number of verses in each metre and the aggregate in all metres. The Anuvakanukramani states the initial words of eighty-five lessons (anuvakas) into which the Rigveda is divided and the number of hymns "1017 hymns, 10,580½ verses, 153,826 words, 432,000 syllables" besides other statistical details. The Padanukramani existing in manuscript is an index of lines (pada) of the Rigveda. The Suktanukramani, which does not exist, "probably consisted only of the initial words (pratikara) of the hymns". The Devalanukramani, not existing but whereof quotations are available, is an index of gods. It has been superseded by the Brihad-devata which states the deity for each verse, and contains a large number of illustrative myths and legends and serves as an early collection of stories. It refers to a number of supplementary hymns (khilas) to the canonical text of the Rigveda. And the Sarvanukramani, a general index, states the initial word or words of every hymn in the Rigveda, as well as the author (rishi), the deity (devata) and the metre (chhandas) even for single verses.

To the Samaveda belong two indices, called Arsha, and Daivata. They enumerate respectively the seers (rishi) and deities (devata) of the text of the Naigeya branch of the Sama-veda.

To the Black Yajurveda also belong two indices. The Anukramani of the Atreya school contains an enumeration of names referring to the contents of its Samhita. The Anukramani of the Charayaniya school of the Kathaka-samhita is an index of the authors of

the various sections and verses. It has a different list of passages borrowed from the Rigveda than that given in the Sarvanukramanī. It is attributed to Atri from whom Laughākṣhi got it. The Anukramanī of the White Yajurveda of the Madhyandina school, attributed to Kātyāyana, comprises five sections. The first four are an index of seers (rishis), deities (devatā) and metres (chandas). The fifth section gives an account of the metres of the text.

Of the several other Pariśiṣṭas of the White Yajurveda three are important. The Nigama-pariśiṣṭa is a glossary of synonymous words and serves as a lexicography. The Fravarādhyaya is a list of Brāhman families. The Charaṇa-vyūha enumerates a smaller number of schools of the various Vedas than found in the Viṣṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas.

To the Atharva-veda belong some seventy Pariśiṣṭas. One of those called also Charaṇa-vyūha states that the Atharva-veda contains 2000 hymns and 12380 words.

Astronomy or the Vedic calendar is concerned with the proper seasons for the Vedic sacrifices. There are two recensions of Vedic astronomy available. One of these belongs to the Rigveda and the other to the Yajurveda. But they, however, date far on in the post-Vedic age when from the fifth century A.D. several of these treatises came into being. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga in verse numbers 43 in Yajurveda and 36 in Rigveda. They generally deal with the position of the sun, the moon, solstices, zodiac, 27 planets and the new and full moon, etc.

These Vedāṅgas, Pariśiṣṭas, and Anukramanīs like the Aranyakas, Upanishads and Sūtras, though attached to the Vedas, are written in classical Sanskrit and bear no accent marks of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas proper. Excepting the prayer hymns containing a poetic description, the rest of this huge amount of the Vedic literature are scientific records of what the Vedic Indians actually composed. The varieties of the Vedic literature are smaller compared with those of the Romans and the Grecians and of the most advanced literature of the present age. There are no treatises in the Vedic literature devoted exclusively to history, geography, moral and physical sciences, mathematics

proper, and various arts, although all these subjects are occasionally referred to

But the germ of most of the later and modern developments can be detected in the Vedic records of thoughts and deeds, which form the earliest literature of the world. It is amazing that at that remote past a literature of this magnitude and of such a wonderful scientific basis could have been at all developed. The supplements to the main literature, of which a brief survey has been given above, would be a great feat and test of patience even for the modern age. In point of fact nothing like these indices exist anywhere even today.

It is, therefore, not necessary to discuss further in order to be convinced that the Vedic literature shows a high degree of intellectual and cultural development and a unique state of civilization.

DARŚANA (MOKSHA ŚĀSTRA)

The earliest beginning of Darśana (speculative philosophy) is traced to the Nāsadiya sukta of Rigveda (Mandala, X, 129). But the philosophical treatises have developed directly from the Upanishads. Darśana (seeing) implies realization of the ultimate truth. According to the theistic schools of thought that is the avowed object of life. This ultimate object of life arising out of the practice of Kama, Artha and Dharma may be achieved through theology or the science which treats of God and of man's duty to Him. The method is two-fold, namely, the natural one, as discoverable by the light of reason alone, and the Positive or Revealed one. The former is the field of philosophy (darśana) which deals with the knowledge of the causes, and the laws of all phenomena, and the latter is based on the study of divine revelation. In the field of religion proper (*i. e.* Theology) faith predominates reasoning which is the basis of philosophy (darśana). "Religion means the recognition of some supernatural powers, of the sense of man's obligation to them, and of the need for propitiating them by obedience, love and worship through prayers and through offerings". These religious and philosophical ideas already have appeared in marked development in the Rigveda before they found most brilliant exposition in the Upanishads. At an unknown date the

Hindu philosophy was framed by various schools of thought into a number of Sūtras. Similarly the Jains and Buddhists founded their schools of philosophical reflection. Even the materialists formulated their doctrines ignoring the realization of God, the avowed object of theistic philosophy. Each of Hindu schools took up, after the period of the Upanishads, the ideas of earlier thinkers and made into a definite system. Then came the desire to fix in definite form the doctrines of the school, and this led to the composition of the Sūtras.

The Upamiti-bhava-prapañcha-kathā (906 A. D.) of Siddharshi grouped the six orthodox systems, which accept the Veda as authority, into pairs, viz., Purvami-māṃsā and Vedānta, Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and Nyāya and Vaiśeṣhika. This traditional number of six was upset in Haribhadra's *śaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya* (8th century) which deals with Buddhist views, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣhika, and Pūrva-mimāṃsā, as well as Jain metaphysics and very shortly with the Chārvāka views. The *Sarva-darśana-siddhānta-saṃgraha*, erroneously ascribed to Śāṅkara, supplies accounts of the Lokāyatika, the Jain system, the Buddhist schools, Mādhyamikas, Yogācāras, Sautrāntikas and Vaibhāṣhikas, Vaiśeṣhika-nyāya, Purva-mimāṃsā according to Prabhākara and Kumārila, Sāṃkhya, Patañjali (Yoga), Veda-Vyāsa and Vedānta which is the author's own view. The *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* of Mādhava, son of Śaṅkara (14th century), deals with the systems arranged from the point of view of relative errors; in it the Chārvākas are followed by the Buddhists, Jains, Rāmānuja, various Śaiva schools, Vaiśeṣhika, Nyāya, Purva-mimāṃsā, a grammatical school ascribed to Pāṇini, Sāṃkhya and Yoga; the chapter on Vedānta being added latter. The *Sarvamata-saṃgraha* of unknown authorship and date 'sets three Vedic schools against three non-vedic, describes Jain, Buddhist and materialist views, and then sets out Vaiśeṣhika and Nyāya as Tarka; and the theistic and atheistic Sāṃkhya; mimāṃsā and Vedānta as Mimāṃsā. "These indigenous histories of Indian Philosophy indicate the extensive field of philosophy and its popularity among the intellectual giants."

The date and order of origin of the original Sūtras in which the various schools developed their doctrines cannot, however, be ascertained with any certainty. According to Jacobi (JR AS, XXXI, 1 f) the Nyāya and

Brahma-Sūtras (vedānta) were composed "after the nihilistic school of Buddhism but before the appearance of the Viśiṣṭavādi idealism (c. 200-450 A. D.), while the Purvamīmāṃsā and Vaiśeṣhika might be a little older. The Yogasūtra is assigned to the period after the Viśiṣṭavāda school, and the Sāṃkhya to a late date. Professor Keith does not agree with Jacobi's views that the Āṇvikṣhika of Lokayata, Sāṃkhya and Yoga had definitely developed by 300 B. C. but not the others. Keith would place all these schools between the dates of the chief Upanishads and the third or fourth century A.D."

PURVAMĪMĀMSĀ OF JAİMİNĪ¹

Performers of Vedic rites found themselves in need of rules of interpretation (nyāyas) to guide them through the maze of texts. The Sūtra of the school of Jaimini essentially aims at laying down principles regarding interpretation of texts in their connexion with carrying out the sacrificial ritual. Man's duty is the performance of sacrifice, in due manner, and the Veda is the one authority. The Sūtra develops a method, according to which "the subject is posed; the doubt is raised; the *prima facie* view is set out; then the correct decision is developed, and the matter brought into connexion with other relevant doctrines." This method of reasoning was adopted by Medhatithi and others in deciding legal difficulties, such as arose from the recognition in the law schools of many conflicting texts as all having authority, just as the Vedic texts.

The twelve books of Sūtra were commented on by Upavarsha and later by Śābarasvamin, both of whom wrote also on the Brahmasūtra of the Vedānta. Śābarasvamin seems to have known the nihilistic school of Buddhism, perhaps also the idealistic, and he has a definite theory of the soul which seems to regard it as produced from the absolute Brahman, but as thereafter existing independently for ever. This view recurs in Rāmaṇuja. On the Savara Bhāṣhya two different systems were founded. The Brihātī of Prabhākara is assigned

¹ Reference is made in the Sūtra to Ātreya, Badari and Badarayana. Jaimini may not be the originator of this school but he is no doubt one of the authorities who expounded the system as a whole.

to 600 A.D. Kumārila wrote about 700 A.D. in three parts the Śloka-vartika, the Tantravartika, and the Tūptikā. Prabhākara and Kumārila differ considerably, but both agree with Śābarasvamin in holding 'that the individual soul in some sense is immortal'. Kumārila complains bitterly that the 'Buddhists are the chief enemies of the Veda'; he derides the doctrine of Buddha as the omniscient and also the followers of the Buddha. He declares regarding the Lokāyatas that the empirical means of knowledge is worth'less and illustrates by saying that 'if right be judged by causing pleasure to others, then the violation of the chastity of the wife of the teacher as giving her pleasure would be right instead of a heinous crime.'

A pupil of Kumārila, Māndana Miśra, wrote the Mīmāṃsānukramiṇi and Vidhivivēka. On the latter Vāchaspati Miśra (850) wrote a comment, Nyāyakanikā; he also sets forth Kumārila's views in his Tattvabindu. The later commentaries include the Nyāyamata-vistara of Mādhava (14th century), the Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa of Āpadeva, and the Arthasaṅgraha of Laṅghākṣhi Bhāskara. In the Māme-yodaya (160) of Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa the epistemology and metaphysics of Kumārila are interestingly summarized.

Uttara-mīmāṃsā or Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa is known as the Brahma-sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, the Uttara-mīmāṃsā, or Śāriraka-mīmāṃsā, and the Vedānta. The last, Vedānta, is the most popular title, because the system represents the compilation of the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads which form the last (outer) portion of the Brahmapāṇḍita, the commentary of the Veda. The doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa appears strongly against the Sāṃkhya system and the atomism of Vaiśeṣika. Bādarāyaṇa was not a believer in the illusion (māyā) doctrine of Śāṅkara's school. He held "that individual souls, if derived from the absolute, remained distinct from it and real, and that matter derived also from the absolute had a distinct reality of its own." The verbal explanations which originally accompanied the text cannot be recovered and so permitted the rise of different interpretations. Thus for a clear exposition of the system the commentaries became more important and popular.

The Gauḍapādīya Karikā of 215 memorial verses written by Gauḍapāda of Bengal (700) holds the view

'that all reality, as we know it, is a mere illusion'. This is known as the doctrine of *Māyā* which is illustrated by numerous popular examples such as the phenomena of dreams, the reflection in the mirror, the rope mistaken in the dark for a snake, etc. The manifestation of unreal phenomena from the real absolute is beautifully illustrated in the last section (*Alātāśānti*) by the brilliant picture of the circle of sparks which a boy makes when he swings a torch without altering the glowing end of the torch. For the source of the doctrine *Maṇḍūkya* and *Maitrayaniya* are specially mentioned. This view is found in the nihilistic school of Buddhism, and the brilliant dialectic of *Nāgārjuna*.

In the *Śāṅkara Bhāṣhya* (788-820) on the *Brahma-sūtra* is found "the full defence and the exposition of the illusion (*māyā*) theory with its insistence on *Advaita*, absence of any duality. Śāṅkara's system is more popularly known as the doctrine of non-duality (*Advaita*'. This doctrine is alluded to in the commentaries of Śāṅkara on the *Bhagavadgītā*, in his *Upadeśa-sahasri* comprising shorter works including lyrics (like the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* and *Mohamudgara*) and his *Ātmabodha* in 67 stanzas, and his *Hastāmālaka* which asserts 'that the self as the form of eternal apprehension is all in all'. His logic starts by denying the truth of the proposition A is either B or not B. His dialectical skill is great. He misrepresents *Bādarāyaṇa* but he does more justice to the *Upanishads* in holding 'that at death the soul when released is merged in the absolute and does not continue to be distinct from it.' Further expositions of Śāṅkara's *Advaita* system (non-qualified dualism) is attributed to his pupils. *Padmapāda* wrote the *Pañchapādikā* on the first five books, which was commented on by *Prakāśātman*. *Sureśvara* wrote the *Naishkarma-siddhi* in prose and verses to prove 'that knowledge alone achieves release', and the *Mānasollāsa* to paraphrase Śāṅkara's *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra*, and *Sarvajātman* the *Saṅkṣhepa-śāriraka* as a summary of the *Śāṅkara-bhāṣhyā*. *Vāchaspati Miśra* (850) wrote the *Bhāmatai* 'which is invaluable for its knowledge of Buddhist views inter alia. *Mādhava* in his *Pañchadaśī*, which was written in part with *Bharati-niṭha*, and *Jivana-nukti-viveka* definitely supports Śāṅkara's view. *Śrīharsha*, the poet, wrote the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* and sought to prove the doctrine of Śāṅkara by proving that all other views are

contradictory and that all knowledge is vain. Of the other innumerable treatises the Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda (1500) shows the elaborate confusion of Sāṅkhya tenets with the Vedānta. The Vedānta-paribhāṣā of Dharmarāja is a manual of the modern school of Vedānta.

Rāmānuja (1100) of Kanchi, who studied under the Advaita philosopher Yādavaprakāśa and was the head of a Vaiṣṇava sect, held a different view of the Upanishads and of the Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa. He wrote his Śrībhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra, Gītābhāṣya, Vedārtha-saṅgraha where the theory of illusion (Māya) was criticised, and Vedāntadīpa which contains a summary of his own doctrine. His views were defended against those of Śāṅkara in the Vedānta-tattva-sāra of Sudarśana Sūri, and expounded in the Yatindra-mata-dīpikā of Śrinivāsa. Rāmānuja himself cites the Vakyakāra, the Vartikakāra Bāudhayana and relies on the Sāṅdilya-sūtra for the true doctrine of the Brahmasūtra. Differing from Śāṅkara in essentials Rāmānuja holds the view "that if in a sense there is an absolute whence all is derived, the individual souls and matter still have a reality of their own, and the end of life is not the merger in the absolute but continued blissful existence". This blissful existence can be attained not through the true knowledge (Jñānamārga) of the absolute as Śāṅkara held but through faith in and devotion to God (Bhakti-mārga) which is the true Vaiṣṇava principle. Thus the system of Rāmānuja is known as the Viśiṣṭadvaita (qualified non-dualism).

Nimbārka, a pupil of Rāmānuja, wrote the Vedānta-parijata-saurabha commenting on the Brahmasūtra, and the Siddhanta-ratna in 10 Ślokaś summing up his system. Vallabha (1376-1430) wrote the Anubhāṣya on the Bādarāyaṇa-sūtra, in which Viṣṇusvāmin's new aspect of theory was developed, and a doctrine of Bhakti, in which the teacher on earth is regarded as divine and receives divine honours, is propounded. 'More distinctive is the dualism of Mādhava or Anandatīrtha who commented on seven of the important Upanishads, the Bhagavad-gītā, the Brahmasūtra, and the Bhagavata Purāṇa. His principles are briefly set out in the Tattva-saṅkhyāna and a number of independent tracts. He insists on the existence of five points of fundamental dualism (dvaita) whence his system

derives its name, as opposed to Advaita of Śaṅkara and Viśiṣṭadvaita of Rāmānuja. Śrinivāsa summarizes the view of Rāmānuja, Viṣṇu Svāmin, Nimbarka and Mādhava in a Saṁgraha work.

NYĀYA-SŪTRA OF GAUTAMA

The Mīmāṃsā school appears to have given an impulse to the logical method. The process of reasoning and laws of thought were methodically developed in the Nyāya system. The term Nyāya signifies going into (a subject) taking it as it were into pieces. Thus the system aims at a correct method of philosophical inquiry into all the proofs through which the mind arrives at the true knowledge of all the objects and subjects. It holds matter and souls as eternal and uncreated. It mentions God (Īśvara) once but does not recognize His moral attributes and the government of the world.

The beginning of the Nyāyasūtra is ascribed to a Gautama (500 B.C.) while the true Nyāya is ascribed to Akṣhapāda (150 A.D.). The Nyāyabhaṣya of Paṅkajavatsyāyana (200 B.C.) propounds modifications of the Nyāyasūtra into short sentences comparable to Vārtikas. The Nyāyavārtika of Udayotakara Bharaḍvāja (620), a fervent sectarian of the Pāśupata belief, defended Vatsyāyana and explained the Nyāyasūtra and Bhaṣya. The Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparyatīkā of Vāchaspati-Miśra (850) is a further comment on it. In the tenth century Udayana wrote the Tātparyapariśuddhi as a further comment, the Kuṣumāñjali in Kārikās with a prose explanation, wherein the existence of God was proved, and the Bauddha-dhikkāra wherein the Nihilistic Buddhist system was assailed.

The chief Buddhist logician Dignāga (before 400) wrote the Pramāṇa-samucchaya-Nyāya-praveśa and other texts preserved only in translations. He developed a doctrine of knowledge which in certain aspects influenced the views of Kant as there is a close affinity. In the Nyāyabindu Dharmakīrti vindicated Dignāga. This work was commented by Dharmottara (800) and by Mallavādin in his Nyāyabindutīkā-tippaṇi of the Jain works on Nyāya. Biddha-Sena-Divākar's Nyāyavatara is assigned to 533 and Maṇikyanandin's Parikṣā-mukha-sātra to (800) on which Anantavīrya

commented in the 11th century. Hemachandra (1033-1172) wrote in sūtra style the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā*, Jayanta (9th century) wrote the *Nyāya-maṅjarī* which comments on the *Nyāya-sūtra* and criticises the Buddhists and the Jains, Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra* (900) which shows a marked Śaiva tendency and embodies *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines and Varadarāja's *Tārkika-rakṣā* which knows Kumārila were mentioned in the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (1350).

The *Tattva-chintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa (1200) appeared in four books; it expounds with much subtlety the means of proof permitted in the *Nyāya*, incidentally expounding the metaphysics of the school at the same time. Gaṅgeśa's followers include his son Vardhamāna, Jayadeva, and Raghunātha-Śiromaṇi (1500). Under his inspiration logic (*Nyāya*) rose to "a developed and able scheme of inference based on universals and the formation of universals it explained by a well thought out metaphysical theory". In the 16th century the *Navya-nyāya* "Sanskrit schools of Navadvīpa (in Bengal) formed the centre of intellectual life in the country."

VAIŚEṢHIKA-SŪTRA OF KAṆĀDA

The *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* is ascribed to an unknown author or school whose nickname is *Kaṇāda*, atom-eater, because the system is based on the uncreated and eternal atoms of which the Creator, individual souls and matter are formed. While *Nyāya-sūtra* deals essentially with logical reasoning, the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* (200 B. C.) represents a naturalistic view which finds in atoms the basis of the material world. Both *Sūtras* accept in some measure the view of the other. The *Vaiśeṣika* doctrine agrees in many points with the Jain philosophical views. Thus it believes that the real activity of the soul, denied by the *Vedānta* of Śaṅkara, holds the effect to be different from the cause, the qualities from the substance, and accepts atoms. It is not clear if the *Vaiśeṣika* ever was materialistic in the *Lokāyata* sense of "deriving the soul from the matter". The original view of the two *Sūtras* as to God is disputed, both say very little on the topic. "But the title may be due to working over at the time when they had become definitely theistic schools."

The Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha of Praśastapāda (5th century A.D.) is hardly a comment on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra because it gives "a completely new exposition of the same subject-matter, with additions of importance." The Nyāyakandalī of Śrīhara (991) is a commentary on it; it holds the same view of theism and adds the non-existence as a seventh to the six Nyāya categories—substance, quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence, whence the name of the system is usually derived, and its inseparable relation. Udayana also wrote a comment, Kirāṇīvalī, on Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, and an independent text, the Lakṣhapāvalī. The Upaskāra of Śaṅkara Miśra (1600) is a formal comment on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra but not an adequate one.

There are a number of short handbooks which deal with the doctrines of both as a whole and present a fusion of the two traditions, and serve as the guide books to the two schools. They include the Saptapadārthī of Śivāditya which is dated earlier than Gaṅgeśa; the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśava Miśra which is assigned to the 13th or 14th century; the Tarka-kaumudī of Laughākṣhi Bhāṣkara which dates after 1400; the Tarka-saṅgraha of Annam Bhaṭṭa of southern India which has an important commentary before 1585; and the Tarkāmṛita of Jagadīśa (1700). The Bhāṣā-parichcheda of Viśva-nātha (1634) consists of 166 memorial and borrowed verses. In this period the divergence of view between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika had reduced to minor points. The schools were now fully theistic; Udayana like Udyotkara was probably a Śaiva and identified God with Śiva.

SĀMKHYA-SŪTRA OF KAPILA

Both the authorship and date of the Sāṃkhya-Sūtra are uncertain. Jacobi and other European scholars do not accept Kapila as the founder of the system. They also doubt the traditional date, 300-550 B. C. because the development out of it of the Buddhist doctrine is not admitted, both the doctrines being ascribed to some Upanishads. The Kāṭha Upanishad is regarded as a preliminary stage in the development of the Sāṃkhya system. But the Sāṃkhya system does not adopt the authority of the Veda. The Absolute of the Upanishads tends to become meaningless with the Sāṃkhya. It postulates only an infinite number of

spirits ; it similarly divorces matter from the absolute, ascribing to it the power of evolution ; consciousness is explained by some form of contact between spirit and matter ; and release (*moksha*) is attained when the unreality of any connexion between the two is appreciated. This is "undoubtedly an illogical and confused system, for in it spirit is meaningless, and its connexion with nature, being non-existent, cannot serve as the motive for bondage." On the basis of the Upanishads where water, fire, and earth appear as the three fundamental elements derived from the Creator or pervaded by him, the Sāṃkhya admits the conception of three principles or properties (*guṇas*) which are constituents rather than qualities, as pervading nature and man alike, viz. *Sattva* (germ of creation), *Rajas* (desire for creation) and *Tamas* (ignorance of the effect of creation). *Prakṛiti* and *Puruṣa* are the two primary agencies of creation. But the eternal and unchangeable *Puruṣa*, comprising countless souls of individuals, is without qualities and properties, and inactive until combined with *Prakṛiti*.

The extant Sāṃkhya-sūtra is considered to be a later text, because it is not used in the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* and is commented on by Aniruddha (1450). The Sūtras given by Siddharshi in the *Upamiti-bhava-prapañcha-kathā* are not in it. The system here is fully developed and scripture is invoked in support of it. Recognition of the distinction between spirit and matter comes by instruction as in case of the king's son brought up by a hunter (*śabara*) when the truth of his origin was disclosed to him at once assumed the princely bearing and mien. That the forgetting of truth brings sorrow is similarly illustrated by the story of the king who married a frogmaiden who turned into frog at the sight of water. In addition to Aniruddha's comment, the work of Vijnāna-bhikṣu seeks to deal with Sāṃkhya, not as opposed to the Vedānta but as representing one aspect of the truth of that system. He also wrote the *Sāṃkhyasāra* (1650). The *Tattva-samāsa* of not much philosophic interest is ascribed before 1600. The *Sāṃkhya-karika* of Īśvara Kṛiṣṇa (320) is the first definite text on Sāṃkhya. Varshaganya according to Paramārtha, wrote a *Shashūtantra* on the Sāṃkhya whose views were corrected by his pupil Vindhyavāsa in a set of Golden Seventy verses which were criticized.

by Vasubandhu (320) in his *Parmārtha-saptati*. *Vindhyavisa* is identified by some with *Iśvara* *Krishṇa* whose *Kīrikā* with a commentary was translated into Chinese by *Paramārtha* in 357-569. The *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī* of *Vāchaspati Miśra*, who cites a *Rāja-Vārtika* of *Rāṇa-rangamalla* or *Bhoja* shows traces of the distinctive feature of *Sāṃkhya* exposition.

YOGASŪTRA OF PATANJALI.

The author and date of the *Yoga-sūtra* are also uncertain. This *Patanjali* is not the same person as the author of the grammatical commentary *Mahabhashya*. This system is closely allied to if not a direct descendant of the *Sāṃkhya* and should therefore be placed to a later date. As a system *Yoga* has been developed under *Sāṃkhya* influence, because the aim of the former is to find union (*yoga*) with God, hence it insists on finding a place for the deity as the twenty-sixth principle in addition to the twenty-five of the *Sāṃkhya*. Thus God of the *Yoga* doctrine is a soul different from the individual souls. The union (*yoga*) between the supreme and individual souls is obtained by eight ascetic practices including suppression of the breath leading to deep concentration. This doctrine is adopted in *Buddhism* and *Jainism* and *Yoga* can, therefore, figure in all philosophies. The relation of the individual spirit to God is treated as a part of the ethics of *Yoga* or *Kriyā-Yoga*.

The *Yoga-Bhāṣya* of *Vyasa* appears to have moulded the original sense to his own views. It was commented on by *Vāchaspati Miśra* (850) and by *Vijñānabhikṣu*. Another important comment on the *Yoga-sūtra* is the *Rāja-martanda* ascribed to *Bhoja*. The work falls into four parts, dealing with the nature of concentration, the means towards it, the winning by it of supernatural powers, and the state of *Kaivalya* (absolutism) which results from complete concentration. The late works such as the *Hatha-yoga-pradīpikā* of *Svātmarama* *Yogindra*, the *Goraksha-sataka* of uncertain authorship, and the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* also of dubious age and authorship supply the information in detail regarding the practices followed to induce the trance condition.

CHARVAKAS OR LOKAYATAS

The Lokayata (popular) philosophy of common sense is known as the Charvaka school. The term Charvaka applied to it may have been due to a teacher of that name, or may be an abusive nickname. No books of these materialists exist but the works were current under the name of Brihaspati who was the teacher of the Asuras or infidels. From the summaries of their doctrines by their opponents only it appears that "they endeavoured to prove the birth of spirit from matter by analogies from chemistry, and contended that as this was the origin of the body, so when it dissolved in death, the spirit ceased to be." Thus this system asserts that soul is not different from body, and that the phenomena of the world are produced spontaneously. It admits four eternal principles (tattvas), viz., earth; air, fire, and water. It rejects all sources of true knowledge except the sense-perception (pratyaksha). It is purely materialistic and openly atheistic.

JAINISM

Jainism, unlike the Hindu schools of philosophy, is partly philosophical and mostly religious. The traditions ascribe the original doctrine to Parśvanatha who died about 775 B. C. When the two sects of the Jains came into being about the 4th to 2nd century B. C. the Śvetāmbara sect who put on white (Śveta) clothes (ambara) carried on the inspiration of Parśvanatha. About 230 years after this traditional originator, Jain Vardhamāna (who died at Pava about B. C. 545) founded the actual Jain doctrine. He was born of a Kshatriya prince, Siddhartha of Vaiśali and of Trisālā, sister of a Licchhavi prince of Nepal. He married, had a daughter and then renounced the world and became a Nirgrantha (tieless, nude) ascetic and died at Pava between B. C. 575 and 467. His followers adopted the more austere asceticism and are known as the Digambaras (clad in space, i. e. nude). The two sects own their slightly different canons and scriptures.

The philosophical categories of Jainism resemble the materialistic principles of the Vaiśeshika school of thought, who adopted atomic theory to explain

creation without the agency of a personal God. The categories (*dravya*) comprise animate conscious (*jiva*) and inanimate (*ajiva*), *ākāśa* (space), *puṅgava* (matter), *dharma* (energy), and *adharma* (motionlessness). All these consist of atoms (*aṇu* and *paramāṇu*), an atom and a combination of atoms. The release according to them is an outcome of the simultaneous action of right observation, right knowledge and right conduct. Thus Jainism is dualism, not of individual souls and supreme soul, but of individuals (human actions), and matter (natural forces). Human ill's are the result of former acts. The misery of existence is due to the ignorance of these facts. This ignorance can be removed by a guide or saviour. The salvation or cure for sufferings lies in the prevention of new *Karman* (acts) from encumbering our fundamental freedom, and in the dissolution and elimination of the *Karman* accumulated in it. "The warmth of asceticism hastens the ripening of the results of *Karman* and effects a cleansing which returning each substance to its place restores us to our native purity."

The Jain contribution to philosophy, so far as it was original, lies in the effort to solve the contrast between what is abiding and what passes away. It insists that there is an abiding reality, which, however, is constantly ending change. This is a doctrine of the *Syādvāda* school of logic which asserts 'that in one sense something may be asserted while in another it may be denied. But in Jain philosophy no serious development of metaphysics could take place because the Jain traditional philosophy could not be rationalized.'

The *Sūtras* and commentary of the *Tattvārthadhigama-sūtra* of Umasvati supply a very careful summary of the system. This view was supported by Samantabhadra (7th century) in his *Apta-mīmāṃsā* on which Akalāṅka commented. Both were attacked by Kumārila and defended against him by Vidyānanda in his comment on the *Aptamīmāṃsā* and by Prabhāchandra, a Digambar Jain, in his *Nyāya-kumudachandrodaya* and *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*. The other works include Subhachandra's *Samuchchaya*, Loka-tattva-nirṇaya, Yoga-drishṭi-samuchchaya, Yoga-bindu and Dharma-bindu which give a review of ethics for laymen, monks, and the blessings of *Nirvāṇa*; Hemachandra's *Yogaśāstra*, and *Vitarāgastuti* on which

Mallisenā wrote in 1292 *Syādavāda-maṅjarī*; Achādhara's *Dharmāmṛita* (13th century) which contains a full account of the whole subject; and Sakalakīrti's (15th century) *Tattvārtha-sāra-dīpikā* which supplies a full account of the Digambara sacred books, and *Prāśnottaropāsakachāra* which in the form of question and answer deals with the duties of laymen.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism turned into pure metaphysics on the one hand and developed on the other into a religion with a growing likeness to Hinduism. It made its appearance as a younger brother, if not the descendant, of Jainism. It had its origin in the same parts; it developed in the same circumstances; and its inspiration was always fundamentally similar. In the earlier years the Buddhist apostles imitated the *Nirgantha* (tieless, naked) Jains. In the later centuries, however, it was rather Jainism that modelled its legends and dogmas, and rules of life on Buddhist forms, whose reputation and power of attraction were far greater.

Following the Hindu doctrine of *Karman* (action) before his final birth Buddha transmigrated innumerable times as *Bodhisattva* who had been miraculously born without 'parental intervention.' *Siddhartha Gautama Sākya*¹ was born in 550 B. C. of a *Kshatriya* prince *Suddhodana* and queen *Mayādevī* (divine illusion) in the *Lumbini* garden in the valley of Nepal. He married *Yasodharā* who bore him a son *Rāhula*. He renounced the world on the birth of his son at the age of 29 years. He was disturbed at the sight of an old man worn with years (*jarā*), an incurable invalid (*duḥkha*), a death-scene (*maraṇa*) and an ascetic (mortification). His mission was to seek remedies for these four miseries. He practised austerities for seven years at *Urubilva* under a fig tree and received full and complete enlightenment (*samyak-sambuddhi*) and assumed the title of Buddha (enlightened). He preached his first sermon, known as the *Dharma-chakra*.

1 *Gautama* was the name of a section of the *Sākya* clan to which *Siddhartha* belonged.

pravartana (setting in motion the wheel of law) at deer-park in Sarnath, north of Benares. He died and got the Nirvāṇa (cessation of further birth) at Kushinagar, east of Gorakhpur, at the age of 80 in 477 B. C.

On the assumption that early Buddhism followed the philosophical categories of Jainism, it also resembles the materialistic principles of the Vaiśeṣika school of thought, who adopted atomic theory to explain creation without the agency of a personal God. The transmigration as Budhisattvas implies the existence of individual souls, and force of Karman (action) which causes the transmigration indicates another entity which is equivalent to the supreme soul of the orthodox systems. The metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism consist of four noble truths (ārya-satyāni), viz., all that exists is subject to suffering; the origin of suffering is in human desires; suppression of suffering and the way which leads to that suppression of suffering comes from the suppression of desires; and the way which leads to that suppression is the eight-fold path comprising rightness of intention, of will, of speech, of action, of life (living), of aspiration, of thought, and of concentration. This path led Buddha himself to rest, knowledge, illumination (bodhi) and salvation (nirvāṇa). Buddhists like the Hindus believe in heaven and hell, and the force of Karman (action) whose reaction causes rebirth. Buddha himself refused to decide whether Nirvāṇa (salvation) is complete extinction or an unevading state of unconscious bliss, which is the view of the Vedānta philosophy according to which the individual soul is merged into supreme soul (Brahman) on attaining salvation. Thus it is difficult to accept the interpretation that "the Buddhist doctrines consist in the denial of soul, momentary existence of all things, and the annihilation of self amounting to salvation." The authorities quoted below will justify the conclusion that at some stage of its development the Buddhism had to admit the self-existent Ādi Buddha who is equivalent to the Creator (God) of the orthodox systems. There were also the individual souls who were born and reborn, who went to heaven and hell, who ultimately emerged into the Creator (God) and escaped the miseries of life. The third entity, viz. force of Karman (action) which

causes migration of individual souls, is really the same as the Creator God who through the agency of Karman (action) regulates the individual souls. Thus like the Vedānta Buddhism appears to accept two truths, viz. "the higher which ends in the vacuity (*śūnyatā*) of all conceptions; and the lower which allows for ordinary life."

The Mahāvastu, a Vinaya text, supplies a partial Buddha biography including many Jātaka stories of the Buddha in previous births, an account of the ten stages through which a Bodhisattva, miraculously born without parental interventions, must move to achieve Buddhahood. The Lalita-vistara gives a biography of the Buddha which has been altered in the sense of the Mahāyāna development of Buddhism and reveals the portrait of the Buddha in the Gandhara sculptures. The Mahāyāna-sraddhotpāda of Aśvaghoṣa develops a complex system of philosophical thought in which the influence of the Brahmanical absolute appears distinctly operative. "The Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-śataka and several other works explain certain ritual vows. Of the Mahāyāna-sūtras proper the most prominent one, the Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka, displays throughout the ideal of the Bodhisattva and glorifies the Buddha as a being of inaffable glory and might. The Avalokiteśvara-guṇa-karaṇḍa-vyūha in prose (before 270 A. D.) recognizes an Ādi Buddha or Creator God and contains the story of the visit of Avalokiteśvara to the abode of the dead. The Sukhāvati-vyūha glorifies the paradise of Amitābha. The Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra, extant in a Chinese version, explains how by meditation on God to attain this paradise. The Karuṇa-puṇḍarīka, translated into Chinese before 600 A. D. describes another heaven known as Padmottara. The Avatamsaka-sūtra also called Ganda-Vyūha, the chief work of the Ke-gon sect of Japan, rendered into Chinese by 420, records the worship of Mañjuśrī.

The Lankāvatara-sūtra before 443 is more philosophical and develops the nihilistic and idealistic doctrines. The Daśabhūmīśvara-mahāyāna-sūtra deals with the ten stages to Buddhahood. The Samādhi-rāja deals with meditation. The Prajñā-paramitas, the most famous of which, the Vajra-chhedika, spread over Central Asia, China, and Japan, assent that intelligence, the highest of perfections (*paramitas*)

of the Buddha consists in the recognition of the vacuity (*śūnyatā* of everything). These views are more clearly brought out in the *Mādhyamikasūtra* of Nāgārjuna, a Brahmin of southern India, whose nihilistic or negativistic doctrine accepts, as does the Vedānta, two truths, the higher which ends in the vacuity of all conceptions owing to self-contradiction, and the lower which allows for ordinary life.

The *Vijāna-vāda* school (of Mahāyāna) is represented by Asanga's *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, the *Yogācāra-bhūmiśāstra*, and the *Mahāyāna-sūtralankāra*. The tenets of the Sarvastivādin and the other schools of the Hinayāna are explained by Asanga's brother, Vasubandhu, in his *Gāthā-saṃgraha* and the *Abhidharmakośa*. His *Paramārtha-saptati* is an attack on the Sāṃkhya system.

The Dharanis implying spells of all kinds occur in Chinese version of the 4th century. They include magic, eroticism and mysticism in the usual Tantra manner of Hinduism. The Shin-gon sect in Japan rests on Tantras. Japan preserved since 609 the *Prajñā-pāramitā-hridaya-sūtra* where the philosophical doctrines were condensed.

Following the Jainism and the Buddhism a few minor schools arose out of the orthodox systems, which were predominantly religious in character. Thus Rāmānuja as already referred to combines three separate doctrines of unity, duality and plurality as he admits three independent existences, *viz.*, the supreme Being, the individual souls, and the visible world (*driśya-jagat*). Mādhava-sāyana held in their *Parva-prajñā* system Viṣṇu to be the one eternal Being and Brahman, Śiva and individuals as the individuals subject to decay. The Śaiva system as expounded in the *Āgamas* admits the existence of their separate entities, *viz.*, the Lord (*paśupati*), individual souls (*paśu*), and matter (*pāśa* or *fetter*), but Nakuleśvara excludes matter and admits the Lord and individual souls. How the system of philosophy can degenerate into curious religious observance is illustrated by the mercury (*rasa*) system which holds "that liberation results from knowledge, and knowledge from study, and study from a healthy body. After the acquisition of a divine body by application of mercury (*rasa*) the light of pure

intelligence shines forth and one can get liberation from the enveloping illusion and attains the absolute."

In the Bhagvad-Gītā on the other hand a synthetic system was followed. It harmonizes the doctrines of the Yoga, Sāṃkhya, and Vedānta, combining with them the religious dogma of faith (bhakti) in Kṛishṇa and devotion to duties (dharma). The composite character is revealed in an attempt to establish the three paths of emancipation of individual souls, *viz.* karman, jñāna, and bhakti. In the first six chapters the benefits of the Yoga is shown, pointing out that asceticism and self-mortification or Yoga should be joined with action in performing caste duties (dharma). Thus annihilating individuality one can see God in everything and everything in God. In the second section of six chapters the pantheistic doctrines of the Vedānta are illustrated by admiring Kṛishṇa as the great universal spirit. In the last six chapters the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta doctrines are interwoven. It accepts the doctrine of a supreme spirit as the first source of the universe and asserts that Prakṛiti and Puruṣa both emanate from the Supreme Being. It also maintains the individual souls.

To sum up it may be reiterated that the Sāṃkhya system starts with 24 categories, the Nyāya with 16 categories, the Mīmāṃsā with 8 categories, the Vaiśeṣhika with 7 categories, the Rāmānuja with 3 categories and the Vedānta with two categories (chit and achit)¹. The Nyāya assumed a personal Creator, Vedānta an impersonal Brahman, Mīmāṃsā an eternal Veda (or sound); Vaiśeṣhika derived all creations from atoms, and Vedānta from universal spirit. The deduction of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣhika tended towards materialism and disbelief, and those of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta towards mysticism.

Striking similarities between Indian and Greek philosophy are well worth noticing. The parallelism of Vedānta and the Eleatics of Plato has been established. The claim that Pythagoras learned philosophic ideas from India is widely accepted. A wide influence

1 Western systems of philosophy had their own categories, for instance, Aristotle's ten categories include substance, quality, quantity, relation, place, time, fortune, property, activity, and passivity.

of the Sāṃkhya on Greece is not dubious to many. The influence on Heraklitos, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Demokritos, and Epikuros is undeniable. An influence of Indian thought on the Gnostics and Neoplatonists is also plausible to a certain extent. On the other hand 'suggestions are so often made to fix in Greece the origin of Indian logic or strong influences on its development, or again the source of the atomic doctrine which is accepted by the Jains and the Vaiśeṣika School'. 'We may regard such influences as reasonable', says Professor Keith, "but we must admit its real proof is wanting. If India borrowed, she had the power to give her indebtedness a distinctive character of its own, and a certain argument against indebtedness can be drawn from cases in which Indian borrowing is undoubted." Indian influence is noticed elsewhere also. 'In Persia Indian doctrine doubtless had considerable influence, but it is extremely difficult to assign to India views which may not have been originated in Persia or Asia Minor.'

Theology, it may be noted, is the science which treats of God, and of man's duty to him. It is known as Natural when it is discoverable by the light of reason alone; it is Positive or Revealed when it is based on the study of divine revelation. As a science proper it has affinity with the orthodox schools or the Theistic systems of philosophy. The various forms of religion developed out of the Positive or Revealed theology.

The treatises on theology are 'often closely allied with Vedānta ideas, powerfully affected by the Sāṃkhya, and have strong affinities to the conceptions of which the Yoga philosophy is an ordered exposition.' The earliest text is the Yogavāśiṣṭha which is reputed as an appendix to the Rāmāyaṇa. It is not much distinguished from the Vedānta. It deals with all manner of topics including final release. The Yogavāśiṣṭha-sāra of Gauda Abhinanda (9th century) is a summary of the older text. The Jaimini Bhāṣya, an imitation of the Mahābhārata, is intended as the earliest text-book of a Vaiṣṇava sect.

The Pañcharatra school of Vaiṣṇavas is represented by a large number of Samhitas (compilations) of very early age. The Ahirbudhnyā which probably belongs to the period of the Mahābhārata mixes

Vedānta and Sāṃkhya ideas. The Nārada-pañcharātra (16th century) gives the best account of the school. The Īvara-saṃhitā which is quoted in the 10th century and the Brihat-Brahma-saṃhitā allude to the doctrines of Rāmānuja; these doctrines gave rise to divergent schools of thought whose differences were based on minor points such as the necessity or otherwise of activity by the soul which sought salvation or as the position of Lakshmi, wife of Vishṇu. The doctrines of Rāmānuja as already stated admit of three independent existences, *viz.* the Supreme Being (Vishṇu), the individual souls, and the visible world. The system of Mādhava-sāyana is on the other hand a doctrine of duality, Vishṇu being held to be the one eternal Being and the spirits of men being distinct from the spirit of God. The Bhaktiśāstra ascribed to Nārada, and the Bhaktisūtras of Saṅdilya are late production. The Hindi Bhaktimāla which is quite modern is interesting as it supplies the technical explanations of the doctrine of faith which is the chief feature of Vaiṣṇavism.

Two schools of Śaivism with close affinity to the Vedānta developed in Kashmir. The Śiva-Sūtra of Vasugupta (9th century) on which Kṣhemarāja commented in the 11th century, and the Spandakārikā of Kallāṭa represent the first school. Here God (Śiva) appears as Creator without material cause or the influence of the past action (karman); He creates by the mere effort of His will. The other school is represented by the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra which owes its fame to the Śivadriṣṭi and the Paramārthaśāstra of Somānanda (900) and the Īvara-pratyabhijñā-sūtra of his pupil Utpaladeva. It is also briefly summarized in the Virupākṣa-pañchāsikā of Virupākṣanātha. According to this system it is necessary for man to realize that he has within him the perfections of God, so that he may enjoy the delight of identity with God. Of the other Śaiva system Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya who wrote a Śaiva-bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtra of Vedānta, and Appayya Dīkṣita (16th century) belonged to the Vira-Śiva or Lingāyata school of Southern India, in which Bhakti towards Śiva is specially inculcated. According to the system of the Śiva Āgamas there are three entities, *viz.* the Lord (Paśupati or Śiva), the individual soul (paśu), and the matter (paśa or fetter); the liberation of soul (paśu) is obtained by its four feet,

viz. jñāna (knowledge), kriyā (ceremonial action), yoga (meditation), and charyā (practical duty). The Pāṇḍita system of Nakuleśvara as noted above excludes matter and holds the Lord (pati) as the Creator and cause of all things (pāṇu). The Raseśvara system as stated above holds that liberation results from knowledge, knowledge from study, and study from healthy body. The divine body is obtained by application of mercury (rasa), on which the light of pure intelligence shines forth. Thereafter one can get liberation from the enveloping illusion and attain the absolute.

Like the Vaishnavas and Śaivites, there are the Śāktas who are the worshippers of Śakti, the female energy. They are divided into two classes, *viz.* Dakṣiṇāchāris and Vāmāchāris. The latter group derived their authority from the Tantras and followed the fierce form of the Śāktis and the licentious form of worship with wine, woman, fish, flesh and mystic gesticulation (mudrā). The other group represents the real Śāktas. They personify the two fold nature, gentle as Umā and fierce as Kālī.

The essence of the Tantras, however, is to clothe in the garments of mysticism the union of the soul with the God or the Absolute. The Tantra literature is sufficiently old of which manuscripts existed from 609 onwards. They include the Kula-chuṣāmāṇi-tantra, the Kulārnava, Jñānārnava, Tattrarāja, Mahāpīrvaṇa, etc. The Lingāyatas of the South have a Vira-maheśvara-tantra.

CLASSICS

The literature in classical Sanskrit also supplies the records of thoughts and deeds of the descendants of the Indo-Aryans, more generally known as Hindus. This later literature has greater varieties but lacks in purely scriptural works except the Tantras and the canonical works of the Buddhists and Jains. Epics appear in their proper form of heroic poems and legends concerning kings and dynasties. Purāṇas dealing with legends of Gods and dynasties are partly historical and mostly mythological in character and cover an extensive field. Tantras, Saṃhitas, Āgamas and Nigamas deal with the worship of female deities side by side with Śiva and Viṣṇu of the Purāṇas. The Kāvya or poems

show greater intensity of imagination and more conscious effort to beautify the form of language in artificial poetry. Romantic tales in prose and verse, and didactic fables in prose and ethical lyrics in verse, the dramas in prose, verse, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, form a distinct addition to the artificial poetry. Directly from the later speculative portion of the Brahmanas the philosophical treatises have developed, which combine speculation with theology. All these are records of thoughts. Science of language, science of civil and religious laws, sciences of politics, economics and practical life, science of love, science of medicine and surgery, and the sciences of astronomy, astrology and mathematics, and guides on various arts and crafts supply the records of Hindu deeds.

The Buddhists and Jains have canonical treatises which are partly practical. But there are also a few sciences or treatises on fine arts and crafts. The Vedic literature is essentially religious. The classical literature, abundantly developed in every other direction, is not so sacred but largely secular in nature. The spirit of the former is optimistic while that of the latter is permeated with the doctrine of transmigration according to which all beings pass by gradations from the Creator through men and animals to the lowest form of existence. As regards the form the classical literature contrasts with the Vedic literature. While prose was employed in the Yajurveda, the Brahmanas and the Sūtras and Vedāngas, classical literature including even the sciences is disproportionately metrical. Grammars and philosophies are in prose of cramped and enigmatical style. Literary prose is found in fables, fairy tales, romances, and partially in dramas and inscriptions.

EPICS

Epics are heroic poems in an elevated style, which recount great events. In point of fact in this literature only the praise of the heroes is recorded, the darker side being overlooked entirely. The genesis of this hero-worship may be traced to the Vedic poems which for instance elevate the God Indra even for his drunkardness. Similarly Yudhishthira in the

Mahābhārata is never blamed for having indulged in gambling in dice-playing whereby complete ruin of the family and of the country was brought about. Nor is the hero of the Rāmāyana criticized for the cruel and unjust banishment of Sita, wherefrom terrible personal miseries and disruption of the kingdom followed. Thus the epics are a kind of histories and as such are concerned more predominantly with 'matter' rather than with 'form,' the 'spirit' being the blind praise of the hero.

Sanskrit epic poetry falls into two main classes. The one class is called Kāvya (heroic poem) and the other is known as Itihāsa (history), Ākhyāna (narrative), or Purāṇa (pre-history). The former is represented by the Rāmāyana and the latter by the Mahābhārata. There might have been such other epics which are however, entirely lost. The Rāmāyana is attributed to the great poet Valmiki. In its present form it must have been in existence before the Gautama Buddha of fifth century B. C. It consists of about 24,000 verses divided into seven books (kāṇḍa)¹ where the heroic deeds of Rāma, the king of Ayodhyā, are described. As an history it contains a short reference to his predecessors. It is known as the first poem (ādikāvya). The poetic inspiration of the poet is ascribed to a pathetic incident of a male bird being killed by an arrow of Rāma's father Daśaratha, when the bird was mating with its partner. The spirit of hero-worship reached the climax in the first book where Rāma is extolled as an incarnation of God Vishnu. The rest of the poem describes how Rāma won Sita by a feat of strength, how he abdicated the throne of Ayodhyā in favour of his half brother Bharata in order to redeem the pledge of his father to his step-mother Kaikeyi, and how in banishment Sita was stolen by the demon king Rāvana of Lankā (Ceylon), how the ocean was bridged with the help of the monkey forces of the south, how Ceylon was conquered and Sita recovered, how he resumed the throne and banished Sita as his first royal act without any consultation with the elders and ministers, and how ultimately a weaker kingdom was handed over to Sita's sons born

¹ Ādi, Ayodhya, Aranya, Kishkindha, Sundara, Lanka, and Uttara,

in banishment at Valmiki's hermitage who, curiously, composed the poem to glorify Rāma.

The actual author or authors of the Mahābhārata are not known. The compiler is known as Vyāsa. It is post-Buddhistic and later in origin than the Rāmāyaṇa. The compilation is supposed to have taken a thousand years from B. C. 500 to 500 A. D. Thus it is surmised that at the first stage it consisted of 8800 verses, at the second 20,000 verses and at the third stage 24,000 verses. But in its present form it consists of over 100,000 verses. It is divided into eighteen or nineteen books (parvans).¹ It describes the eighteen days' fight between Duryodhana, the leader of the Kurus, and Yudhishthira, the chief of the Pāṇḍus, who were cousins. "Within this narrative frame has come to be included a vast number of old legends about gods, kings, and sages; accounts of cosmogony and theogony; disquisitions on philosophy, law, religion, and the duties of the rulers (kings)." Hence "the Mahābhārata claims to be not only a heroic poem (kāvyā), but a compendium of teaching, in accordance with the Veda, the four-fold end of human existence (spiritual merit, wealth, pleasure, and salvation), a Smṛiti or work of sacred tradition, which expounds the whole duty of man, and is intended for the religious instruction of all Hindus." Thus in its final form the epic kernel forms only about one-fifth of the whole and it is an encyclopedia of moral teaching rather than an epic proper.

Besides its language is not so elevated as that of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus it deals more with matter than form, and concerns more with the spirit of a scripture. The epic story runs as follows. In the country of Bharatas (whence the name Bhārata-varsha arises) known as Kurukshetra (land of Kurus) there lived at the capital Hastināpura two princes, Dhritarāshtra and Pāṇḍu. The older being blind Pāṇḍu succeeded to the throne. On the premature death of Pāṇḍu the eldest of his five sons, Yudhishthira, was appointed heir-apparent by Dhritarāshtra. But the five princes had to escape to Pāñchāla to escape from the plots their

1 Ādi, Sabha, Vana, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhishma, Droṇa, Karna, Salya (gada), Sauptika, Stri, Śanti, Anuśāsana, Aśvamedha, Āśrama-vāsin, Mausala, Mahāprasthāna, and Svargarohana; and the supplement Hariyamśa.

hundred cousins led by Duryodhana had made to assassinate them. There the five princes made alliance with the Panchala king by marrying his daughter Draupadi, and with Krishna, the leader of the Yadavas. Thereafter Dhritarashtra recalled the Pandu princes and divided the kingdom between them and his own sons, the former having their new capital at Indraprastha and the latter retaining the old capital Hastinapura. Then Yudhishthira accepting the challenge to play at dice with Duryodhana lost every thing—his kingdom, his wealth, his army, his brothers (Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva) and the common wife (Draupadi)—and agreed to go into banishment for twelve years and to remain incognito for a thirteenth, after which the lost kingdom was to be returned to them. In the meantime Duryodhana tried further to injure but the Pandavas passed thirteen years successfully and made further alliance with Matsyas and others. The message demanding back their kingdom receiving no answer, they prepared for war. The battle took place at Kurukshetra, near present Delhi. The people of Kosala, Videha, Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Sindhu, Gandhara, part of Yadavas, Sakas and Yavanas joined the Kurus. Panchalas, Matsyas, part of the Yadavas under Krishna, kings of Kasi, Chedi, Magadha and others fought on the side of Pandus. The battle raged for eighteen days till all the Kurus were destroyed. Only the five Pandavas and Krishna escaped alive. Yudhishthira was crowned king at Hastinapura. Bhishma, the leader of the Kurus, on his death bed, instructed Yudhishthira on the duties of kings and other topics in about 20,000 verses (chap. XII-XIII) disclosing the political life of Hindus. But weary of life they enthroned Parikshita, the grandson of Arjuna, and retired to the forest dying as they wandered towards Meru, the abodes of God, which Yudhishthira was able to reach.

King Parikshita having died of snake-bite, his son Janmejaya initiated a great sacrifice to annihilate all serpents. At that sacrifice the epic, Mahabharata, is stated to have been recited by Vaisampayana, who had learnt it from Vyasa who is stated to have composed the epic to elucidate "the excellence of the Pandus, the greatness of Krishna, and the wickedness of the Kurus."

The supplementary book, Harivamsa, contains an

account of Krishna in 1600 verses which are divided into three sections. The first describes the history of Krishna's ancestors down to the time of Vishnu's incarnation in him; the second gives an account of Krishna's exploits; and the third treats of the future occupations of the fourth (Kali) age of the world.

This brief survey should show that this epic deals more with matter than the form. Besides the language of the Mahabharata is not so poetical and elevated as that of the Ramayana. Moreover the instructions on the royal duties, spiritual merits, wealth, pleasure and salvation for all, and moral teachings in addition to the story do not supply much scope for poetic imagination. Thus matter being the main object beauties of the form are lacking; even the strict grammatical correctness is also wanting¹ which became more prominent in the Purana class of literature.

The epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, are truly the national poems of everlasting interest and value. They are not produced by any individual authors. Valmiki and Vyasa are not persons like Kalidasa and Bana-bhatta. Nor they deal with stories concerning heroes of any particular time and locality. They deal with the whole country and the lasting national culture and history. Thus the Ramayana is being read from the time immemorial daily in every household and in every village and town, in the trader's shop and king's palace without any slack of interest. The ideal of national life is indicated by the Ramayana in the garb of the family incidents of king Dasaratha. Unlike Homer's Iliad and odyssey the Ramayana is not intended to show the heroism of Rama in subduing the demon king Ravana. It shows the fundamental nature of domestic life (grihastha). It extolls the obedience of sons to parents, sacrifice among brothers, unbreakable attachment between husband and wife, and the ideal treatment of subjects by their rulers. Rama was more cruel towards Sita than Ravana showing the human nature of Rama who was not recognised as an incarnation (avatara of God) by Valmiki but as Nara-chandrama (best of men). Thus the Ramayana is daily read as a

1 For instance there is a confusion between the use of the fifth and sixth case-endings which are associated with two distinct cases, viz. ablative (apadana) and possessive (sambodhana).

Dharma-śāstra (guide book of practical religion) rather than as the *Adi-kāvya* (first poem). The *Raghu-vaṃśa* deals with the same story but it is read for poetic beauties of *alankāra* (figure of speech) and *rasa* (sentiment) of language and not for any religious lesson.

Similarly the *Mahabhārata* devotes four-fifths of its one lakh ślokaś to moral lesson by way of describing the feud between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and ends in the gaining of heaven by Yudhishtira alone who is recognised as the *Dharma-rāja* (king of religious ideal). Concerning linguistic beauties, it is, therefore, inferior to the *Rāmāyaṇa* not to speak of the *Kāvya* proper like the *Raghuvaṃśa* and others. In both these epics victory in battles is not the ideal; both ends in renunciation which is our national ideal and cultural aim.

PURĀṆAS

The term 'Purāṇa' is already found in the *Brahmaṇas*, designating cosmogonic inquiries generally. It is also used in the *Mahabhārata* to express 'ancient legendary lore', implying didactic as well as narrative matter, and pointing to an old collection of epic stories. In Book XVIII, as well as in the *Harivaṃśa*, mention is made of 'eighteen Purāṇas' which are connected by many threads with the old law books and the *Vedas*. This set of eighteen old epic Purāṇas are entirely lost.

There is a new set of eighteen or nineteen Purāṇas¹ which are later in origin than the *Mahabhārata* and for the most part derive their legends of ancient days from the *Mahabhārata* itself. 'Nevertheless they contain much that is old'. In that part of their contents which is peculiar to them, the Purāṇas agree so closely, being often verbally identical for pages, that they must be derived from some older collection as a common source.

¹ *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Skanda* (*Kumara*), *Viṣṇu*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Bhagavata*, *Padma*, *Garuḍa*, *Agni*, *Śiva*, *Brahma*, *Narada*, *Varaha*, *Markaṇḍeya*, *Namana*, *Līṅga*, *Karma*, *Brahmaṇḍa*, and *Brahma-vaivarta*.

Most of these new Purāṇas are introduced in exactly the same way as the Mahābhārata. Ugrasravas, the son of Lomaharshana, is stated to have related their contents to Śaunaka on the occasion of a sacrifice in the Naimisha forest in the district of Sitapur in Oudh.

They deal with cosmogony, description of the earth, the doctrine of the cosmic ages, the exploits of ancient gods, saints and heroes. Accounts are given of the incarnations (avatāra) of Vishṇu, the genealogy of the kings of the Solar and the Lunar races, and the enumeration of a thousand names of Vishṇu and of Śiva¹. Purāṇas contain rules, as they should being primarily scriptures, about the worship of the gods, especially Vishṇu and Śiva as cult, by means of prayer, fasting, offerings, festivals and pilgrimage. Although the Vedic sacrifices did not altogether disappear this cult worship became more popular with the advent of the Purāṇas between A.D. 300-800 or 1000. Thus the Purāṇas are still treated as sacred literature like the Vedas. The hero-worship of the Epics also was still recognised but the heroes at the Puranic age were the gods rather than the earthly kings whose dynastic histories however are incidentally described.

The Purāṇas are a sort of encyclopedia endeavouring to deal with the histories of five independent subjects, viz., creation and recreation of the universe, gods, reigns of fourteen Manus or fathers of man, and the kings of the Solar race as Rāma and others, and of the Lunar race as Pāṇḍavas and others. Similarly are mentioned the dynasties of the Śiśuragas, Nandas, Mauryas, Guptas and others. In no other country or civilization such gigantic attempt was ever made to treat of so many subjects in such single volumes.

Purāṇas distinctly aim at 'matter', and have thus no poetical ambition to beautify the 'form' of language though written in clumsy verses. The grammatical accuracy is missing here more than in the Mahābhārata. Their 'spirit' is religious and they are taken as sacred literature like the four Vedas and Brahmanas, and considered as the fifth Veda.

1 The definition in Sanskrit runs as follows:—
Svargaścha pratisargaścha yamśo manvantaraṇi cha,
Vaiśānuharitaṁ chaiva purāṇaṁ pañcha-lakṣaṇam,

TANTRAS

The Tantra class of literature comprise the Tantras proper which are the scripture of the Śākta sects of worshippers; the Sāṃhitas which are the sacred books of the Vaiṣṇavas; and the Āgamas and Nigamas of the Śaivas. In the Āgamas the goddess Pārvatī as a pupil asks Śiva who answers the questions as the teacher (guru), while in the Nigamas Śiva asks questions and Pārvatī answers and solves them. The Veda, Smṛiti, and Purāṇa-Itihāsa being scriptures of the bygone ages, this class of sacred literature is stated to have been revealed for the welfare of the people of the Kali (modern) age. As a matter of fact although Vedic sacrifices and sacraments are still practised by the higher castes the Tāntrik form of worship is more popular. All the branches of Tantras are purely theological works touching technicalities of cult worship and metaphysical and mystical principles. There are four common parts in each branch. The first part deals with Jñāna or knowledge comprising philosophical doctrines, monism, occultism, *i. e.*, the secret powers of the letters, syllables, formulas and figures (mantra-śāstra and yantra-śāstra). The second part deals with Yoga, *i. e.*, meditation and concentration required to acquire magic power. The third part treats of Kriyā or action and gives instructions for carving idols and constructing and consecrating temples. And the fourth part known as Charyā or conduct lays down rules regarding rites and festivals and social duties. "Though in reality all these four branches are not treated in every single one of these works, they all contain a medley of philosophy and occultism, mysticism and magic, and ritual and ethics". The secret doctrines are disclosed by the Guru (preceptor) after a ceremonial Dikṣhā (initiation). The figures like the Strīyantra, the famous diagram, made of nine triangles and nine circles, one within another, is stated to bear a special mystic significance.

There are 28 Āgamas of the Śaivas of south India, which are stated to have been proclaimed by Śiva himself after the creation of the world, and each Āgama has a number of Upāgamas. The treatises like the Kāmikāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Kirāṇāgama deal extensively with architecture and sculpture. The traditional list of the Sāṃhitas enumerates 108 Pāñcharātra Sāṃhitas

but there is actually mention of more than 215 of which about a dozen is published. The *Ahimbudhnya Samhita* in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Nārada is a Kashmiri work of about the fourth century A. D. Though probably originated in the north the *Samhitas* are circulated largely in the south. The *Līwara Samhita* is quoted by Rāmanuja's teacher Yamuna in about 1040 A. D. Rāmanuja himself mentions *Paushakara*, *Parama*, and *Sattvata Samhita*. The *Jānamaita-sāra-Samhita* of about 16th century agreeing in the matter of cult with the *Vallabhāchārya* sect is devoted to the glorification of Krishna and Rādhā.

The Tantra proper seems to have originated in Bengal whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal and to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism. They are known all over India including Kashmir and South. Tantras take the forms of dialogues between Śiva and Parvatī. When the goddess asks the questions like a pupil and Śiva replies like a teacher Tantras are called *Āgamas*, and when the Goddess is the teacher and answers Śiva's questions they are called *Nigamas* as stated above. In the Tantras, the great Śakti bearing countless epithets like Durgā, Kālī, Chāṇḍī, etc., is the great mother Goddess. The Śāktism, the religion of the Śāktas, "presents a curious medley of the highest and lowest, the sublimest and the basest conceptions ever thought out by the mind of man." In the Tantras there are loftiest ideas on the Deity and profound philosophical speculations side by side with superstition and some confused occultism. There is a faultless social code of morality and rigid asceticism disfigured by wild orgies inculcating extremely reprehensible morals. Thus some people laid a stress only on the worst aspect of this religion until Sir John Woodroffe under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon published the most important Tantra texts and elucidated an objective historical idea of this religion and its literature.

According to the list contained in some Tantra texts there are 64 Tantras or "64 Tantras each in three different parts of the world." The *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, though not the oldest, is the most representative of the superior Tantras showing the best aspect of Śāktism. This speaks of Brahman, the highest divine principle, in the same way as the Upanishads,

who according to Śaktism is nothing but the eternal and primeval force (Śakti) out of which all things have been created. This great universal mother, Jagan-mātā, is represented by Durgā, Kālī, etc., as well as by Lakshmi and Rādhā and other divine mothers. The Moksha or salvation results in Mahānirvāṇa or great extinction. The five grosser essentials of worship, intoxicating drink, meat, fish, parched dainties in milk with sugar and butter, and the nectar of the woman flower (śrīpushpa), otherwise, bells, incense, flowers, candles and rosaries, symbolise the spiritual devotion of the devotee to the Devi "by bestowing the lotus of his heart as her throne, the nectar which trickles from the petals of this lotus-flowers as water wherein to wash her feet, his mind as a gift of honour, the restlessness of his senses and his thoughts as a dance, selflessness, passionlessness, etc., as flowers." Its philosophy corresponds to the systems of Vedānta and Sāṃkhya. Castes are recognised. It teaches for Kālī age only the Āśramas of the householder and the ascetic only. The Kulārṇava-tantra emphasises the Kuladharmā or the family custom. Similarly does the Kula-chūḍa-maṇi-tantra, as a Nigama the Devi proclaiming the doctrines. The Prapañchasara-tantra is ascribed to Śankara, dealing with the essence of the universe. The Tantrarāja-tantra treats of the Strīyantra, the diagram consisting of nine triangles and nine circles one within the other. On meditating on this diagram one attains the knowledge of the unity of everything in the world with the Devī. The Kālivilāsa-tantra, a 'prohibited Tantra' refers to Kṛishṇa as the lover of Rādhā who is identical with Kālī. The Jñānārṇava-tantra refers to the worship of young maidens known as Kumārīpūjāna as "the highest sacrifice". The Śāradatilaka-tantra of eleventh century treats chiefly of Mantras, Yantras and magic though begins with the theory of creation and origin of human speech.

All these works like the Purāṇas are written in ungrammatical Sanskrit. N. Mukhopādhyāya supplies in *Bibliotheca Indica* (p. XV) a correct comparison of Tantras with the allied literature. According to him "The Purāṇas form an important portion of the religious literature of the Hindus, and together with the Dharmaśāstras and Tantras, govern their conduct and regulate their religious observances at the present day. The

Vedas are studied by the antiquarian, the Upanishads by the philosopher, but every orthodox Hindu must have some knowledge of the Purāṇas, directly or vicariously, to shape his conduct and to perform the duties essential to his worldly and spiritual welfare".

HISTORICAL TREATISES

It is possible that the genealogies of the Purāṇas were inspired by the lists of teachers recorded in later Vedic texts. These genealogies in their turn must have induced the production of histories and historical poems in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrits. Like the 'controlled' war news, press communiques, and the present day histories, the ancient chronicles were hardly accurate records of facts. Even at present deliberate inaccuracy is published. The discreditable social news is suppressed by the ruling race while such news is exaggerated to denounce the subject races. Therefore discrepancy in dates, etc, in ancient chronicles should not take away their historical worth as we have to sift fact from fiction even now-a-days.

Inscriptions like that of King Kharavela of Kalinga (B. C. 165)¹, Rudradaman (1st Century A. D.), Samudragupta (4th century), Harsha of Kanauj (7th century), Chalukyas, Rastrakutas, Palas and Senas supply much historical information with reliable dates and genealogies. These inscriptions are either eulogies (prastuti) or deeds of gifts (dāna-patra), and supply genealogies of reigning kings and donors, activities of the rulers, conditions of gift, and set out the histories of the architect who constructed the gift, the priest who consecrated it, the poet who composed it and the scribe who engraved the letters. The Western Chalukya kings of Kalyani (A. D. 973-1189) derived from Dynastic archives knowledge of the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Badami (A. D. 550-557). And the Silahara princes of southern Konkan kept record of their paramount sovereigns, the Rashtrakutas (A. D. 752-973), as well as of themselves.

"The preservation of pedigrees and successions

1 It tells us that he spent 15 years in princely sports; that for 9 years he enjoyed as heir-apparent; that he was crowned to the succession at the end of his 34th year; and then it briefly enumerates year by year, the principal events of his reign, and certain large items of expenditure on public works and charity, as far as the 13th year.

has evidently been a national characteristic for many centuries. And we cannot doubt that considerable attention was paid to the 'matter' in connexion with the royal families, and that Vamśāvalis and Rājāvalis, lists of lineal successions of kings, were compiled and kept from very early times. In fact, the matter is not one of speculation, but is capable of proof." The introductory passages of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya series, for instance, name the successive kings beginning with the founder of the line who reigned centuries before that time. Again the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga supply in their grants from 1058 Vamśāvalis which give the same details about the kings of that line including a coronation-date of 1741. A long Vamśāvali from Nepal gives an unbroken list of the rulers of that country with the lengths of their reigns and the date of an accession in an era from 1768 (even from 1182 B. C. *i. e.*, six or seven centuries before the Kali age in 3102 B. C.). The Vamśāvalis from Orissa present an unbroken list of kings of that province back from 1871 to the Kali age in 3102 B. C. with the length of the reign of each, and with certain specified dates as epochs. Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* (1148-49 A. D.) mentions lists of kings of Kashmir which had been put together by Kshemendra and Helarāja.

The Jains have *Paṭṭāvalis* or successions of pontiffs which run back to the death of the last *Tirthaṅkara* *Vardhamāna Mahāvira* in about 527 B. C. The palm-leaf archives of the temple of *Jagannath* at *Puri* give certain definite and reliable land marks in the early history.¹

The introductions and colophons of literary works, as compiled by Professor Peterson and Dr. R. G. Bandarkar in their Sanskrit manuscripts contain definite historical matter including dates. In the colophon of his *Yasastilaka*, for instance, *Somadeva* tells us that "he finished that work in *Chaitra*, Śaka year 881 (A. D. 959) during the rule of a Chalukya prince *Krishṇa-rāja deva* (*i. e.* *Krishna III*, 959 A. D.). We learn more

1. The Bower manuscript on birch-bark discovered by Lt. Bower at Kashgaria on the north of Kashmir through excavations at the foot of an old erection of which several are to be found in the Kachar district shows that even manuscripts are yet to be discovered which may supply historical records.

about the family of this prince, Arikeśarin, from the Vikra marjuna-Vijaya or Pampa-Bharata of Pampa (A. D. 941) which mentions as his patron Arikesin and gives his pedigree for seven preceding generations. Again in the introduction to his Subhāshita muktāvali (written in 1247-1260) Jalhana details his own pedigree and mentions the Devagiri Yadava Kings Bhillama, Singhana, and Krishna, and their ancestor Mallugi.

Buddhists supply legendary history of the Buddha. The Mahāvamsa is an history of Mahanāman (5th century A. D.); and Dvīpavamsa is an history of Ceylon.

There still exist some fourteen treatises in history. The Harshacharita of Bāṇa is a real attempt to depict the history of king Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-648 A. D.) recording the contemporary events of the country. This record on the whole is supported by his three inscriptions and the Chinese historian Hiuen-Tsiang. The Gaudavaha of Vakpati-rāja is a poem in Maharashtra Prakrit, recording the defeat of an unnamed Gauda king by the poet's patron, Yaśovarman of Kanauj (A. D. 750). The Nava-sahasaka-charita (A. D. 1005) of Padmagupta (also called Parimala) in eighteen cantos alludes to the history of king Sindhurāja Navasahasaka of Malava. The Virkamaśakadeva-charita of the Kashmirian poet Bilhana (1088 A.D.) is an epical work in eighteen cantos describing the history of the Chalukya king of Kalyana, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127). In this work there is however no real character-drawing, but merely the reflex of the epic.

The Rājataranginī of Kalhana (12th century) is a full and critical historical treatise relating to the chronicles of the kings of Kashmir. It is in the author's own words based on his own study of eleven works of former scholars as well as the still extant Nilamata-purāṇa, Nripivāls of Kshemendra, Padmamihira, Chhavillakara, also of inscriptions, coins, temples, local traditions, family records, and on his personal knowledge. The treatise is completed in eight books the first four of which contain more or less traditional accounts which Kalhana himself frankly admits. But in these real historical kings like Asoka, Kushanas (Huvishka, Jushika and Kanishka) and Hunas (Toraman and Mihirakula) are also mentioned. The last books

(v-viii) commencing with the first Karkota dynasty in the seventh century approach historical account, and ending at his own time in the thirteenth century.

Jonaraja (who died in 1459) continued the history of Kashmir to the reign of Sultan Zainul-ʿabidin. His pupil Śrivarā covered in the *Jaina Rājatarāṅginī* in four books the period 1459-1486 A. D. Prajya Bhaṭṭa and his pupil Śuka in the *Rajavalipatakā* carried on the tale to some years after the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar in the sixteenth century.

The sixth historical treatise of minor importance is the *Somapālaviṇaya* of Jalhana who wrote an account of the king of Rājapuri, Somapāla, who was conquered by king Sussala of Kashmir. The Jain monk Hemachandra (1088-1172) wrote (1163) an account of the Chalukya king, Kumārapāla, of Anhilvad, in the *Kumārapāla-charita*, otherwise, called *Dvaśraya-kavya* which consists of two parts, one in twenty cantos in Sanskrit, and the other in eight cantos in Prākṛit, and is intended to illustrate the rules of Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammar. The *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* by an unknown Kashmirian author in manuscript gives an account of the victories of the Chahamana king of Ajmer and Delhi, Prithvirāja, who won a great victory over Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori in 1191, though he was shortly afterwards ruined and slain. There are two panegyrics relating to the Vaghelās of Gujerat, princes Lavana-prasāda and Virodnavala. The first is the *Kirtikaumudī* of Someśvaradatta (1179-1262) which contains the eulogy of Vastupāla and throws a good deal of light on various aspects of Indian social and political life. The same author in his *Surathotsava* in fifteen cantos supplies a 'political allegory' and gives an account of the poet's own history. Another panegyric is the *Sukritasāmkirtana* of Arisimha in eleven cantos, which belongs to the thirteenth century. The *Jagaḍu-charita* of Sarvānanda is a panegyric of a Jain merchant who aided his townsfolk in the terrible famine of 1256-1258 in Gujarat. The *Rāmapāla-charita* of Sandhyākara Nandin describes the feats of the powerful king Rāmapāla of Bengal (1084-1135) who recovered his ancestral throne from an usurper, Bhīma, and conquered Mithilā. The last and the fourteenth historical poem is the *Rajendra Karmapura* of Śambhu which is a panegyric of Harsha-deva of Kashmir (108-1101 A. D.).

This brief introduction to the long list of historical poems should suffice to remove the false and widespread notion that in the Hindu culture there was no sense of history. It is assumed that the Hindu civilisation did not care to recall to mind the past events and derive lessons from them or because the Hindus were so engrossed with the thought of future salvation that the past or the present were of no importance to them. The family life of sacraments and sacrifices including numerous services (Śrāddha) for ancestral worship should refute this notion entirely.¹

POEMS (KĀVYAS)

Poems in Sanskrit are composition of high beauty of language and thought in verse or prose. The art consists in expressing in melodious words and metres or styles the thoughts which are the creations of feeling and imagination. Thus in such compositions, long or short, the 'form' is the primary object, 'matter' being of secondary interest. For the exhibition of a garment, for instance, a bust of a male or female is necessary but the chief object is to demonstrate the beauty of the dress. In Sanskrit poetry in particular there is an internal or objective beauty also which is known as the sentiment (rasa) produced in the reader. The external or subjective beauty consists in melodious words (pada-lalītya), gravity of sense (artha-gaurava), metre (chhandas), and figure of speech (alākāra).²

These qualities are variously demonstrated in the

1 It is, however, true that following the method of the Epics and Purāṇas, the ancient historical works excepting the Harshacharita were written in metrical verses mostly in the form of eulogy. Kālhana was, however, critical enough. But the defect lies in their desire to embellish 'form' in subjects concerned with 'matter.' Another defect is the carelessness in exaggerating or suppressing facts as the modern historians more ingeniously do. The number and variety of historical treatises and a number of facts do certainly "attest a degree of sense for history" among the ancient Hindus. There were no historians of the Sanskrit literature although Kālhana and some inscriptions made casual mention of a few Sanskrit poets and their works, before the Western scholars made a historical survey of our vast literature bringing order in the chaos.

2 All other qualities remain in prose composition also excepting metre which is substituted by style (riti).

big poems (mahākāvya), small poems (khaṇḍa-kāvya) or lyric (giti-kāvya), anthologies (saṁgraha), maxims (gnomics), didactic poetry; and in prose fables (hitopadeśa), romantic and instructive tales (kathā), great romance (upanyāsa) and mixed compositions (champu), and dramas (rūpaka).

BIG POEMS (MAHĀKĀVYA)

There are certain common characteristics of the higher class of the large poems (mahākāvya). Their subjects have to be derived from the epics (itihāsa-purāṇa), 'they should be extensive, and ought to be embellished with descriptions of cities, seas, mountains, seasons, weddings, battles fought by the hero, and so forth. This class is represented first by Aśvaghosha's (350 A. D.) *Saundarananda* in eighteen cantos describing the conversion of his half brother Nanda by the Buddha; and the *Buddha-charita* in seven cantos of which the last four were added by Amitānanda, describing the life of the Buddha; it is "essentially the work of an artist" both in choice of incidents and arrangement of matters. Then comes the greatest poet Kalidāsa (450 A. D.) with his *Kumārasambhava* in seventeen cantos of which the last nine may be of later addition describing in a fascinating manner the courtship and wedding of god Śiva and goddess Parvatī and the birth of Kumāra. It "appeals more deeply by reason of its richer variety, the brilliance of its fancy, and the greater warmth of its feeling." It abounds in that poetical miniature painting in which lies the chief literary strength of the Sanskrit poetry, affording the poet free scope for the indulgence of his rich and original imaginative powers; it is conspicuous for wealth of illustration. That the seventh canto is the conclusion of the *Kumārasambhava* is shewn by the great commentator Mallinātha, who did not comment upon the subsequent cantos added by some one other than Kalidāsa whose theme ends in the union of Śiva and Pārvatī. The great author has fully illustrated Manu's dictum that women are great object of honour and light of households because they give birth to children (prajānanārtham mahābhāgaḥ pūjarhā griha-dīptayaḥ) whereby God's creation is continued. Herein, as in *Sakuntala*, Kalidāsa has demonstrated that the love for sex gratification depending on youth and beauty and inspired by cupid

is a cursed one and never lasting, and that the love of the hearts based on religious ground sustains in social welfare because wife is the root of it (*kriyāṇām khalu dharmyaṇām sat-patnyo mūla-kāraṇam*). The yoga (asceticism) of Śiva could not fully achieve its end without the aid of Umā who could win him by her own asceticism. The efforts of minor gods with the aid of cupid in the exciting spring season and the fascinating youth and beauty heightened by charming decoration of Umā accosting Śiva in the solitude of forest of penance ended in the very destruction of cupid. But undecorated and emaciated by ascetic practice Umā struck the heart of ascetic Śiva because the holy look of the ideal wife, Arundhati, had already generated a desire of Śiva for a partner. The union of Śiva and Pārvatī in wedlock attracted even the great seven sages (*saptarshi*) who came accompanied by Arundhati to witness this wedding. Pārvatī herself blamed the efforts of gods and cupid and her own beauty and determined to make her charms successful by means of asceticism¹. This is our ideal love of heart ending in social welfare by birth of children; the foreign ideal of marriage for sex gratification terminates in failure and separation when the short-lasting youth and beauty disappears by birth of children. Birth control cannot prevent the decaying youth and beauty of the body.

Kalidasa's best poem is, however, the *Raghuvamśa* in nineteen cantos, describing the life of Rāma together with an account of his forefathers and successors. Its style is simple, its similies are apt and striking; "it contains much genuine poetry", it "may rightly be ranked as the finest Indian specimen" of large poems.

Next comes Bhāravi (500) with his *Kirātārjunīya* in eighteen cantos describing the combat between Śiva in the guise of a Kirāta (hunter) and Arjuna; the author's "style at its best has a calm dignity (*arthagaurava*) which is certainly attractive. While he excels also in the observation and record of the beauties of nature and of maidens", but at places it contains number of stanzas illustrating all kinds of verbal tricks and mannerisms.

The *Bhāṭikāvya* of Bhāṭī (Skt. Bhartṛi, died

१ निमिन्द रूपं ददयेन पार्वती अपरं समर्थं ललितं वपुश्चात्मनः शून्या जगाम भक्ताभिमुखी कथंचित् । इयेष सा कर्तुमशक्यरूपता समाविनाशाय तपोभिरात्मनः ।

651 A. D.) in twenty-two cantos describes the story of Rama by way of illustrating the forms of Sanskrit grammar; 'the absence of the longer metres explains the comparative ease of the style, for the larger stanzas encourage development both of that and expression'. He was imitated by Māgha (seventh century) in the *Śiśupālavadha* which in twenty cantos describes how the Chedi prince Śiśupāla was slain by his cousin Kṛishṇa; as a whole 'it does not lack in poetical beauties and striking thoughts,' although there are metrical puzzles. The *Naishadhiya* or *Naishadha-charita* of Śrīharsha, son of Hira and Mamalladevi under Vijayachandra and Jayachandra of Kanauj (second half of twelfth century), describes in twenty cantos the story of Nala and Damayanti. Despite the too many Yamakas and rhymes there is elegance and skill in the use of language in it. These are considered to be the great poems because the great commentator Mallinātha did not care to write commentaries on other lesser poems.

The *Jānaki-haraṇa* of Kumāradaśa (earlier than Māgha and later than Kalidāśa) preserved only in a Sinhalese word-for-word translation describes the story of the stealing of Sītā by Rāvaṇa in twenty cantos; it was largely influenced by Kalidāśa in style as well as in subject; the author adopts the *Vaidarbha* form and develops in a marked degree the love of alliteration.

There are a number of poems of extensive size but of much inferior quality. The *Hayagrivavadha* of Mentha (also called Bhatri-mentha and Hastipaka) probably belongs to the latter half of the sixth century. The *Rāvanārjuniya* or *Arjuna-Rāvaniya* of Bhīma, Bhūma, Bhūmaka or Bhaumaka of about the same time (seventh century), in twenty-seven cantos describes the strife between Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Rāvaṇa (as given in the *Rāmayaṇa*) by way of illustrating the rules of grammar (like Bhāṭṭi). The *Kavirahasya* of Halāyudha (about tenth century, an eulogy of the Rashtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (940-956) also illustrates the modes of formation of the present tense in Sanskrit. The Buddhist *Kapphanabhudaya* in Pāli of Śivasvāmin (ninth century) describes in twenty cantos the conversion to Buddhism of Kapphana, a king of the south, who

had an evil design against the king of Śrāvastī. The Haravijaya of Kashmirian Ratnākara (ninth century) describes in fifty cantos the slaying of the demon Andhaka. The Kādambarī-kathāsāra of Abhinanda (ninth century) is a metrical epitome of Bāṇa's Kādambarī. The Rāmācharita of another Abhinanda of unknown date deals with the story of Rāma from the stealing of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. To the Kashmirian Kshemendra (of eleventh century) are ascribed three poems of worthless poetry but of great industry and dreariness, viz., the Rāmāyana-maṅjarī being an epitome of the Rāmāyana, the Bhārata-maṅjarī (1037) an epitome of the Mahābhārata, and the Daśavatāra-charita (1066), the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The Chitrakānta-charita of another Kashmirian, Mankha (twelfth century), describes in twenty-five cantos the overthrow by Śiva of the demon Tripura. The Harācharita-chintāmaṇi of the Kashmirian Jayaratha (twelfth century) describes the Śaiva myths, practices and beliefs, and is of some religious interest but of no poetical worth. The Jain author Roḷimbarāja (about 1050) wrote in four cantos the Haravilāsa, and Amarachandra (1250) wrote Babhārata; both these are religious poetry in epic style but "in an unpretentious and pedestrian Sanskrit." The Rāmāpāla-charita of Sandhyākara Nandin (twelfth century) of Bengal describes simultaneously the story of Rāma and the king Rāmāpāla of Bengal. The Raghava-Pāṇḍaviya of Kavirāja (Suri, Paṇḍita), probably same as Mādhava-Bhaṭṭa under the Kadamba king Kāmadeva (1182-1197), also of the Jain writer Dhanañjaya (probably between 1123-1140), describes simultaneously the stories of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Such poetic feat is unique, wonderful and incredible. This is imitated by Haradatta Suri of unknown date in his Raghava-naishadhiya where the story of Rāma and Nala is simultaneously told. And the climax is reached by Chidambara in his Raghava-Pāṇḍaviya-Yadaviya where the stories of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa are simultaneously attempted with some absurdity. The Jaina Kanaka-ena Vadirāja of the Drāvida country (about 950) wrote his Yaśodhara-charita in four cantos. The same story is told by Somadeva (of a later date) in his Yaśastilaka. Another version of the same is told by Maṇikyā Suri (of eleventh century) in his Yaśodhara-charita. To the great Jain

poet Hemachandra (1088-1172) is ascribed the enormous work (written between 1160-1172) *Trishashti-salākā-purusha-charita* which in ten cantos handles the lives of the sixty-three best men of the Jain faith, the twenty-four Jinas, twelve Chakravartins, nine Vasudevas, nine Balalevas, and nine Vishnu-dvishas. It is lonely and wearisome but the language is simple. Harichandra (of unknown date) describes in his *Dharmasarmābhyudaya* in twenty-one cantos the life of the fifteenth Tirthankara, Dharmanātha. Vagbhata (twelfth century) describes in his *Neminirvāṇa* in fifteen cantos the life of the Tirthankara Neminātha. The *Pāṇḍava-charitra* and *Mrigāvatī-charitra* of Devaprabha Suri (thirteenth century) describe the story of the Mahābhārata and of Mrigāvatī respectively. Charitra-sundara Ganin (fourteenth century) describes the story of the king Mahipāla in his *Mahipāla-charitra* in fourteen cantos of 1159 verses. These poems have not much literary merits. There is more poetry in the *Padmachudāmāni* of Buddhaghoshachārya (not the Pāli scholar Buddhaghosha of the third century).

The *Nalodaya* describing the restoration to power of king Nala does not probably belong to Kālidāsa but an unknown inferior poet. Similarly the *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavadha* in Prākṛit relating the story of Rāma is not the work of Kālidāsa and belongs to an unknown author.

SHORT POEMS (LYRICS)

The essential difference between great poems (*mahākāvya*) and short poems (*khaṇḍa-kāvya*) consists in point of 'matter' rather than of 'form'. There is a running story in the former while in the lyric-poem proper a complete idea may be expressed by a single poem. The great poems are like big chains (*hāra*) consisting of several strings of gems. The lyric poems are like individual gems; they have the purpose of a decoration when used as a chain of several or as a locket of a single piece. The matter is erotic, ethical, or religious.

Kālidāsa's *Meghaduta* is an erotic poem which consists of 115 to 118 stanzas divided into two parts. The short story is running. An exile in central India sends through the cloud a message of hope and devotion to his beloved wife in the Himalaya mountains. "It

is difficult to praise too highly the brilliance of the description of the cloud's progress or the pathos of the picture of the wife sorrowful and alone." It ranks highest among Kalidasa's poems for brevity of expression, richness of content, and power to elicit sentiment. Mallinatha has written his commentary only on this among the short poems. Kalidasa's *Ritusamhara*, consisting of 153 stanzas in six cantos is a highly poetical description of the six seasons into which the year is divided.¹ "Perhaps no other work of Kalidasa's manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in depicting an Indian landscape in vivid colours." The *Śringāratilaka* of twenty three verses are also ascribed to him; these have some merit but nothing about authorship can be stated definitely. Jināsena (eighth century) worked the verses of the *Meghaduta* into an account of the life of the Jaina saint *Parśvanātha*. The *Meghaduta* exists in a Tibetan version in the Tanjore library and in a Sinhalese rendering. It was repeatedly imitated from the time of *Pavanaduta* of *Dhōi* in the twelfth century onwards.

To *Bhartihari* (first half of seventh century), grammarian, philosopher and poet, a Buddhist monk and layman, are ascribed three sets of a hundred verses each. *Śringāra-śataka*, *Vairagya-śataka* and *Niśīṭaka* depicting respectively pictures of love, of renunciation, and of moral conduct. The first of these comprise graceful and meditative verses depicting the charms of women and their arts of captivating the hearts of men.

The *Amaru-śataka* of *Amaruka* (750 A.D.) show "delicacy of feeling and refinement of thought" in painting lovers in all their moods, bliss and dejection, anger and devotion, estrangement and reconciliation. The *Chaura-paśchāśikā* of Kashmirian *Bilhana* (later half of the eleventh century) in fifty verses describes with glowing enthusiasm the joys of secret love of a princess which the author may have experienced. The *Ghaṭakarpāra* of twenty two stanzas, ascribed to *Ghaṭakarpāra* of unknown date (one of the nine traditional gems of a mythical king *Vikramāditya*) describes how a young wife sends a message by the cloud to her absent husband.

¹ Summer, rain, autumn, pre-winter (*hemanta*), winter and spring.

To Mayūra, the father-in-law of Bāṇa (seventh century) are attributed two short poems. The *Sūryaśataka* of a hundred verses celebrates the Sun god for removing leprosy of the author originating from a curse of his daughter for describing very minutely her beauties; and the *Mayuraśataka* in eight verses describes the appearance of a maiden who has secretly visited her lover and is returning from his side.

The *Sattasai* of seven hundred verses in (Maharashtra) Prākṛit, of Hāla (of about 200 A.D.) is a collection of folk-poetry depicting common realities of life, especially of the "homeliness and rough good sense of the Maharashtra people", and simple loves set among simple scenes which are gentle and pleasing. The *Saptaśati* of Govardhana is a bad imitation in Sanskrit arranged alphabetically and without inner connexion. Another similar imitation is the *Ārya-saptaśati* on which was based the Hindi *Satsai* (1662) of Bihārīlāl. A further and later imitation is the *Śrīgāra-saptaśatikā* of Parānānanda showing the author's weakness and repetition to complete the seven hundred verses, which his brothers Udayana and Balabhadra attempted to correct in a second edition. Another later Prākṛit anthology, the *Vajjalagga* of Jain Jayavallabha of uncertain date, is a collection of matter to illustrate the three ends of man, *viz.*, conduct, practical wisdom, and love.

The best of the romantic lyrical poems is the *Gitagovinda* of the Bengali poet-king (Kavirāja-rāja) one of the five jewels of the king Lakshmaṇasena's court (twelfth century) the other four being Govardhana, Dhōi (Dhoyi), Śaraṇa, and Umāpati. It is variously classified as a lyric drama (Lassen, Macdonell, Keith), pastoral-drama (Jones), refined *Yātrā* (von Schroeder), song and drama (Pischel and Levi). The 'form' is extremely original. In 'matter' it depicts the love of Kṛishṇa for the beautiful Rādhā, the estrangement of the lovers, and their final reconciliation. A mystical religious 'spirit' is discovered in the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa story by an orthodox school of thought; "the separation of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, their seeking for each other and their final reconciliation is stated to represent allegorically the relation of God to the human soul". The great perfection of 'form' by combining grace and

diction with an ease in handling the most difficult metres has no parallel anywhere. "The songs are given to us in the manuscripts with precise indication by technical terms of the melody (*rāga*) and time (*tala*) of the music and dance which they were to accompany, and the poet definitely bids us think of songs as being performed in this way before our mental eyes. To conceive of writing such a poem was a remarkable piece of originality, for it was an immense step from the popular songs of the *Yatrās* to produce so remarkably beautiful and finished a work."

SHORT ETHICAL POEMS

Short poems including anthologies, maxims and proverbs (gnomic and didactic poetry) describe "wise and noble, striking and original thoughts, appearing in a highly finished and poetical garb". They are spread over the Sanskrit literature. These are plentiful in law books; in the epic and the drama they are frequently on the lips of heroes, sages, and gods; and in fables (like *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*) are constantly uttered by tigers, jackals, cats, and other animals. They are "more abundant in Sanskrit than the literature of any other nation can boast of."

The most famous collection is variously called the *Chāṇakyaṇṭi*, *Chāṇakya-rajanīti*, *Vṛiddha-Chāṇakya*, or *Rajanītisamuchchaya*. There are more than seventeen recensions of this work. This may be another *Chāṇakya*, and not probably the same as *Kauṭilya*, the minister of *Chandragupta Maurya* of the fourth century (B. C.). One recension has 340 stanzas in seventeen chapters, another by *Bhojarāja* in a manuscript in *Sarada* character of *Kashmir* has 576 verses in eight chapters. "Its contents deal with general rules for the conduct of life, for intercourse among men, general reflections on richness and poverty, on fate and human effort, on a variety of ethical, and religious topics."

Bhartihari's Vairāgya-śataka in a hundred verses deals with renunciation and *Nītiśataka* in a hundred verses with ethical maxims. The *Śāntiśataka* of *Silhana* (who may be same as *Bilhana*) of twelfth century, on tranquility, borrows matter from *Bhartihari* and deals with asceticism common in Hinduism, Buddhism, and

Jainism; "his matter is more interesting than his manner (form)".

The Nitiratna, Nitisara, and Nitipradipa of Vararuchi, of uncertain date, contain some excellent verses on ethical matters. The Nitimañjari of Dya-Dvivedi (1494) of two hundred verses on moral maxims, collected mostly from the Brihad-devata and Sāyana's commentary on Rigveda. The Bhallata-śataka of Bhallata under Śankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir who carefully elaborated in varied metres a hundred verses not wholly original. The Anyokti-muktāśataka of Śambhu under king Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101) collected from others (anyokti) 108 verses instead of a hundred (śataka) and elaborated them with no special merit. The Drishtānta-śataka of Kusumadeva of some later date illustrates (drishtānta) each of the hundred maxims by an example; it is simple and unpretentious. Of still later dates are the Bhāva-śataka of Nāgarāja on ethical reflections, and the Upadeśaka-śataka of Gumāni on moral maxims as well as many other works. The Bhāminivilāsa of Jagannatha of seventeenth century is "admirable in many respects both as an erotic poem, an elegy, and store of gnomic sayings. There are a number of brief poems of which the most famous is the Chatakashataka of uncertain date contains lyric stanzas rich in gnomic matter and of great beauty. Jain Dhanapala wrote (972) his Rishava-panchāśika in fifty Prakrit verses.

To Śankarāchāya are ascribed the Mohamudgara featuring also as the Dvādaśa-panjarikā, with relinquishment of wordly desires, and Sataśloki in 101 verses setting out "with some wealth of imagery the principles of the Vedānta philosophy. The Bodhicharyavatāra of Śāntideva is "the most distinguished effort known to us to adapt the elegances of Sanskrit poetry to the exposition of a complex philosophical and moral theme."

The Śrīngara-jāna-nirāya of unknown author and date gives a contrast between the claims of love and of knowledge in thirty-two stanzas. The Kuṣṇanimata of Dāmodara Gupta, minister of Jayapada of Kashmir (779-813) on pornography, shows how a young girl can win gold for herself by flattery and feigned love. The Samaya-mātrikā of Kshemendra deals with the same

subject and describes how a regular go-between should instruct a public girl in her exacting profession. His *Kānavilāsa* in ten sections describes the various occupations and follies of mankind. His *Darpadalana* in seven sections shows the folly of pride on noble birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity, and asceticism. His *Sevya-sevakopadeśa* in sixty-one stanzas deals with the advice regarding servants and their masters; *Chaturvarga-saṅgraha* describes the four ends of life, morality, practical life, love and release; and *Chārucharyā-sataka* in a hundred verses lays down the rules of good behaviour. Kshemendra's influence is evident in the *Mugdhopadeśa* of Jalhana in sixty-six stanzas which warn against the wiles of hetairai (prostitute).

The *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁdoha* (written in 994) of Amitagati, in thirty-two chapters, describes various aspects of Jain ethics assailing Brahmanical gods, women and hetairai. His *Dharma-parikshā* (written in 1014) deals with the same subject. The *Yogaśāstra* of the Jain monk Hemachandra (twelfth century) in simple verses with no poetical merit describes Jain philosophy in the first four chapters and the various duties and ascetic practices of Jainism in last eight chapters. The *Śringara-vairagya-taraṅgini* of Somaprabha (1276) in forty-six verses denounces the love of women.

The *Kavindra-vachana-samuchchaya* edited by F. W. Thomas from a Nepalese manuscript of the twelfth century is a compilation of 525 verses by many poets (earlier than 1000 A.D.), dealing with a "wide variety of subjects, love and other passions, the conduct of life, practical wisdom, and moral and political maxims. The *Saduktikarnāmrīta* (1205), otherwise called *Sūkti-karnāmrīta* of Śrīdharaśa under king Lakshmanasena of Bengal is a compilation from 446 Bengali poets including Gangādhara and others (1050-1150). The *Subhāshita-muktāvalī* of Jalhana under Krishna (1247), in two recensions, describing such subjects as riches, generosity, fate, sorrow, love, royal service, etc. The *Śaraṅgadhara-paddhati* (written in 1363) of Śaraṅgadhara is a famous compilation, arranged in 163 sections, containing 4689 verses including some by the author himself but of no distinction. The *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (perhaps in the fifteenth century) in 101 sections "gives

3527 stanzas of over 350 poets. The Subhashitavalī of Śrīvara (fifteenth century) cites from more than 380 poets. There are many other anthologies in manuscripts.

SHORT RELIGIOUS POEMS

Religious poems, like the ethical ones, comprise prayers, praises, and psalms, and describe how the Hindus "prayed to the one Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph."¹ They are spread over the whole of Sanskrit literature. They have been gathered together in several collections from the Vedas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upanishads, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad-gītā, the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, the Purāṇas, the Āgamas, the Tantras, from the classical poetry of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Mayura, Bāṇa, Subandhu Bhavabhūti, Kṛṣṇa Miśra, Śrī-Harsha, Vaidya Gadādhara, Bhavānanda, Śaṅkarāchārya, Utpaladevāchārya, Śrī Kaṇṭhāchārya, Yamunāchārya, Rāmanujāchārya, Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra, Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, Vedāchārya, Vedāntadeśika, Venkaṭādhvarin, Vallabhāchārya, Viṭṭhaleśvara, Haridāsa, Mādhavāchārya (Ānanda-tīrtha), Vādirāja, Chaitanyadeva, Rūpāgosvāmin, and fifty other. praises (stotra) to the gods and goddesses, of which the authorship is uncertain.²

The gods and goddesses who received adoration in the Hindu period were, however, different from those praised by the Vedic Aryans. Besides the old gods Śiva Viṣṇu, Sūrya, there appeared new goddesses and gods like Durgā, Gaṇeśa, and the cult of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma became prominent. The collections of a hundred or thousand names of a god or goddess became numerous. The number of Stotras preserved are vast.³ The higher poetry invaded this field also. The philosophers also took part in the composition of the songs of praise (stotra) and lent dignity to the art. But many are of no poetic worth.

1 Mahatma M. K. Gandhi (foreword to Natesan's collection).

2 For illustrations vide *Prayers, Praises and Psalms* published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras (1938).

3 Professor Keith has illustrated over a score of them (vide, *ibid* pp. 210-231).

The Chandisataka of Bāṇa (seventh century) is a collection of 102 verses in praise of Durgā for slaying the demon Mahiṣa. The Subhāṣitāvali of Mayura contains verses in praise of Śiva and Pārvati. The Bhaktāmara-stotra of Jain Maṇatunga who is probably same as Matanga Divākara also called Chappāla of Harsha's court is in honour of the Jain saint Rishabha. The Kalyāṇa mandira stotra of Jain Siddhasena Divākara is of less poetical value. The Aṣṭa-Mahāśrī-chaitya-stotra and the Suprabhāta-stotra attributed to Harsha-vardhana and Śrīharsha of Naiṣadhiya are Buddhist hymns. The Sragdhara-stotra of Sarvajñamitra is in praise of the Buddhist deity Tārā, the mother goddess and saviour. The Vakrokti-Pāṣcāśikā of Kashmirian Ratnākara in praise of Pārvati and Śiva "shows a remarkable power of illustrating the ambiguities of which the Sanskrit language is capable." The Śiva-parādha-Kṣhamāpāṇa-stotra of Śaṅkarācārya contains hymns to Devi, the mother-goddess whom the Śaktas adored as the expression of the highest power in the universe; his other Devi hymns are collected in the Bhavānyashṭaka in eight verses and the Ānandalahari in twenty verses. The Ambāshṭaka and the Pāṣcha-stavi in five hymns of unknown authorship contain praises of Durgā. The Śyāmalāṇḍaka-mainly in prose in praise of the goddess Kālī, the Sarasvatī-stotra in praise of the Goddess of learning, and the Maṅgalāshṭaka in eight verses of the Devi of unknown authorship are wrongly attributed to Kalidāsa. The Pāṣcāśati of some Mūka is a book of hymns in 500 verses. The Devīśataka of Ānandavardhana (850) in praise of Durgā contains a hundred verses of no poetic merit. The Stotrāvali of Utpaladeva (925) consists of a series of twenty verses in praise of Śiva of no outstanding merit. The Mukundamālā of Vaiṣṇava Kulāśekhara (tenth century) is in praise of Viṣṇu. The Kṛishṇa-Karṇamrita or Kṛishṇa-līlāmrita of Līlāśuka of Bīlvamangala (eleventh century) in 110 verses in praise of Lord Kṛishṇa exhibits some merits and is very popular. The Padyāvali of considerable poetic merit of Rūpagosvāmin, contemporary of Jayadeva at the court of Lakṣmīnaraṇa (twelfth century), in praise of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, contains quotations from Dhoyī, the Śrutadhara or Śrutidhara (of strong memory) and Kavirāja (poet-king) and others. The

famous Mahimna-stava of Pushpadanta is in praise of Śiva as well as Viṣṇu. The Chandī-kūcha-Pāñcāśika of certain Lakṣmaṇa Achārya in praise of Durgā contains in fifty verses religious fervour of a peculiar kind. The Bhikṣāṭava-Kāvya of Śivadāsa or Utprekṣā-vallava in praise of Śiva "describes the feeling of Apsaras when Śiva in the garb of an ascetic comes to seek alms in Indra's heaven."

There are numerous other and later works on praise (stotra) of gods and goddesses mentioned here and there without historical particulars. Of these a mere reference may be made to the Stotras of Malhana, Bilhana, Daṇḍin, Halayudha, and to the Charchastava, Ghaṭastava, Śakalijani-stava, Stuti-kusumāñjali of Jagaddhara, Kuvalayananda's Varadarājastava, Atmārpana-stuti, and Manollāsa, Nilakaṇṭha-dikṣita's Ānanda-sāgara-stava, Jagannātha's Karuṇa-lahari, Sadāśiva-Brahmendra's Kīrtanas, Rāma-bhadra Dikṣita's Rāma-stava-Karṇa-rasāyana, Rāma-Prasāda-stava, Viśvagarbha-stava; and Brahmānanda's Bhagavat-Śaraṇa-stotra.¹

This short survey should be enough to refute the false notion that the "Vedic literature is essentially religious and Sanskrit literature is profane."² In fact the Hindu society is still essentially religious and their literature in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, including those of the Buddhists and the Jains, as well as the modern languages including Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Maharashtra, Tamil, Telegu and Canarese, etc., give abundant evidence and retain the religious nature although developed in every other direction.

NOVELS AND STORIES

The Daśakumāra-charita of Daṇḍin, the Basavadatta of Subandhu, and the Kādambarī of Bāṇa are generally classified under "prose romances." The novel is defined as "a fictitious prose narrative or tale presenting a picture of real life especially of the emotional crisis in the life history of the men and women portrayed;"

1 For illustrations vide, Natesan, *ibid*, pp. 292-410.

2 Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 277.

and the romance as "a fictitious narrative in prose and verse which passes beyond the limits of real life." Thus the real difference between the 'novel' and the 'romance' lies between the pictures of 'real life' and the 'imaginary life.' On the authority of Professor Macdonell the *Daśakumāra-charita* "contains stories of common life and reflects a corrupt state of society", the *Vasavadatta* relates 'the popular story of the princess of Ujjayini and the king of Vatsa', and the *Kadambari* describes the love of the princess *Mahāśvetā* and the prince *Pundarika*, and of the princess *Kadambari* and the prince *Chandrapīḍa*.¹ Thus in these stories there is nothing 'beyond the limits of real life' and may, therefore, be designated as 'novels' rather than 'romances' because our ordinary reader is more familiar with the term novel than romance, although the ancient narratives were different in presentation from the modern ones.²

The *Daśakumāra-charita* is earlier in date than the other two narratives because its author, *Dandin*, is earlier than *Bāṇa* and *Subandhu* and is placed in the sixth century A. D. It is written in the *Vaidarbha* style of Sanskrit, the other two styles being *Pāṇchāla* and *Gauḍa*. There are ten stories concerning the adventures of the ten princes (*daśakumāra*) covering all provinces and ending at the meeting of all of them, each one of whom relates how he secured his partner in life.

The main interest of the romance lies in the substance (*i.e.*, 'matter'), with its vivid and picturesque account of life and adventure, of magicians and fraudulent holy men, of princesses and ruined kings, of *hetairai*, of expert thieves, of fervent lovers, who in a dream or by a prophecy are urged on to seek the beloved. The world of the Gods is regarded with singularly little respect, and the ministers to holiness are equally far from finding favour." Professor Keith with

1 Macdonell : History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 332.

2 The *Agni-purāṇa* (Chap. 337) classifies the story literature into five groups, *viz.* *Ākhyāyika*, *katha*, *khaṇḍa-katha*, *pari-katha*, and *kathanika*. The novels are known as *upanyāsa*, *rahoṇyāsa*, *navoṇyāsa*, *ramoṇyāsa* and *kautukanyāsa*; of these the *upanyāsa* is stated to have nine subdivisions, *viz.* *katha*, *kathanika*, *kathana*, *alapa*, *akhyāna*, *akhyānaka*, *khaṇḍa-katha*, *pari-katha*, and *saṅkīrṇa*.

convincing illustrations reassures, however, that there was no "total disregard of moral considerations."¹

But the author's "distinctive quality is the application to the simple tale of the grand manner" (i. e. 'form') of the poetic style (*kāvya*). He exhibits his 'talent and the command of the language in descriptions in the Vaidarbha style and excels in pleasing sound effects.' He aims both at exactness of expression and clearness of sense, at the avoidance of harsh sounds and exaggeration or bombast; he attains beauty, harmony of sound, and effective expression of sentiment. "He makes free use but with reasonable moderation of the right in prose to construct long compounds but they in the main are not difficult of comprehension." No higher praise from an authority like Professor Keith can be aspired by any novel-writers of the present age. Dandin is a glory to Sanskrit prose and represents an important phase of Hindu culture.

"Dandin is unquestionably masterly in his use of language. He is perfectly capable of simple easy narrative, and in the speeches which he gives to his characters he avoids carefully the error of elaboration of language."² This indicates the standard of perfection in Sanskrit prose of the sixth century. This even excels the prose of the pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta by Harisena in the fourth century (345 A. D.), and of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāra Gupta by Vatsabhaṭṭi in the fifth century (473 A. D.). Dandin is a glory of Sanskrit prose both in regard to 'matter' and 'form'. Like Kalidasa in his poems and dramas Dandin in his single prose novel represents an important phase of the cultural development of the Hindus in their civilization.

The *Vasavadattā* of Subandhu is earlier than the *Kadambarī* because Bāṇa mentioned Subandhu, and later than Kalidasa who is mentioned by Subandhu. It is placed in the early seventh century. There is no

1 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 300. Compare Bernard Shaw's famous novel 'Adventures of the Black Girl in her search for God' (1932) which depicts the similar story regarding the present Christian society.

2 Prof. Keith also illustrates (*ibid* pp. 306-7) Dandin's extraordinary familiarity with grammar.

originality claimed in the plot as the story appears to have been known before. Prince Kandarpa, the beautiful son of king Chintamani of Vatsa and the Princess Vāsavadattā, the peerless daughter of king Śrīgarāṣekhara fell in love, met secretly at Pataliputra, ran away to avoid her marriage to the Vidyadhara chief, Pushpaketu, whom her father had selected for her. The couple took shelter in the Vindhya hills. There Vāsavadattā inadvertently entered a hermitage, was cursed by the hermit and was converted into a stone. After long wandering Kandarpaketu found a statue which at his touch awakens to life as his beloved, and in reunion they live in great happiness in his capital.

The matter is not of much importance as 'the aim of the poet is not to trouble himself with the plot or the characters but to display his virtuosity in language'. It is obviously written to illustrate the Gauda style of prose "With its enormous compounds, its love of etymologising, its deliberate exaggeration its love of harsh sounds, its fondness for alliteration, its attempt to match sense closely with sound, its research for recondite results in the use of figures and above all in paronomasias and cases of apparent incongruity." Subandhu's Vāsavadattā is 'an exercise in this style applied in descriptions of mountains, rivers, streams, the valour of the prince, the beauty of the heroine, and the strife of the contending armies.'¹

Daṇḍin certainly is very different in style. Subandhu's "work would indeed be unbearable, were it not for the care taken by the author to vary his long compounds by occasional short words in order to permit the reader to breathe and gain some comprehension of what has gone before, and notably in occasional short dialogue passages, as when he describes the talk of lovers at night, he realises the necessity of the use of short sentences."

The Kadambarī of Bāṇa is the latest of the three great novels in Sanskrit and is placed in the seventh century after Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, which is later than Daṇḍin's

1 Subandhu cannot be specially accused of indecency or savagery for minute descriptions of the beauty of women and the delights of love which are against modern conventions of taste because many ancient and modern writers like even Kalidasa and Shakespeare indulged in such descriptions.

Daśakumāra-charita. Bāṇa mentions the Vāsavadatta and the Brihat-kathā of Guṇadhya whence the story of the Kādambarī is largely derived. Like the Daśakumāra-charita and the Vāsavadatta the Kādambarī belongs to the Kathā class of story whose main characteristic is the 'inclusion of one tale within the other', while the Akhyāyikā class of story like Bāṇa's other prose and historical work, the Harsha-charita, is a running and continuous tale. The story of Kādambarī illustrates its fundamental characteristic feature. Mahāśveta, the fairest daughter of the Gandharva king Haima and Apsaras Gaurī, fell in love with an ascetic youth, Puṇḍarika, the son of the goddess Lakshmi and Śvetaketu. But Puṇḍarika suddenly died of love-fever and his body disappeared. On the assurance of re-union with her lover, Mahāśveta waits for him assuming asceticism herself in a hermitage on the bank of the Achchhoda lake. Puṇḍarika is reborn as Vaisampāyana, the son of the minister of the king Tarāpida of Ujjain. Vaisampāyana was of same age and companion of the prince Chandrapida, the son of Tarāpida and his queen Vilāsavati. The two young friends went out in a party on a hunting expedition. Chandrapida being separated from the rest went to Mahāśveta's hermitage and suddenly fell ill. He was, therefore, taken by Mahāśveta to the palace of the king Chitraratha at the Hemakūṭa mountain. There he made his acquaintance with Kādambarī, the princess of Chitraratha and his queen Asparas Madirā, and they fell in love at first sight. But Chandrapida was called back to the lake Achchhoda where his party came in his search. At the command of his parents Chandrapida went to Ujjain leaving the camp in charge of his friend Vaisampāyana. During the absence of Chandrapida, Vaisampāyana seemed to recognise something of his previous birth and as if seeking what was lost. Perplexed he entered into the hermitage of Mahāśveta and seeing her lost control of his love for her in his previous birth and tried to embrace her and was cursed for immodesty and converted into a parrot and disappeared for the second time. Then Mahāśveta was told by a heavenly voice that she had cursed the person for whom she had been waiting and asked her to wait again. Chandrapida on his return from Ujjain learns of this sad incident and feels sick and drops down as dead. On hearing

her lover's death Kādambari hurried to the scene and laments bitterly and Chandrapīṇa's maid Patralekhā out of unbearable grief jumps into the lake to kill herself. Kādambari then picks up Chandrapīṇa's dead body on her lap and embraces it and as a result of her touch Chandrapīṇa comes back to life. And out of the drowned body of Patralekhā, Mahāśveta's original lover Puṇḍarika reappears as the ascetic youth. The two couples were thus re-united and married and lived happily ever since.¹

The speciality of the Kādambari is the elaboration of language and ideas though not at the cost of characterisation. Those who are impatient and eager for brevity and the rapid progress of the novelic story cannot enjoy the unique beauty of it. Bāṇabhaṭṭa is a painter and his Kādambari is a painting hall wherein the various pictures are drawn to show their glowing colours rather than to lead the onlookers to the rapid development of the story. The onlooker goes on drinking cups after cups forgetting his dinner, like the expert music lover who enjoys the tana (tune) rather than the wording of the song. The author indicates that his qualified readers must be like the members of the king Śūdraka's council where the Chāṇḍālā girl related the story of Kādambari.² Thus the reader must be intoxicated like Omar Khayyam and look at the language as a charmingly decorated young woman. Then he will not be frightened at the long compounds like the fat

1 To those who have no belief in rebirth, or even in a re-union after this mortal life, the real interest of the story would be diminished and it would seem an idle romance with uninteresting characters living in an unreal atmosphere. But from our Indian point of view by which we can explain all incongruities of life "the story may justly be deemed replete with the tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and sorrow of death, and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love."

The story was, however, left unfinished when Bāṇa died. His son, Bhūṣaṇa, completed it, but the son was unquestionably inferior to the father. Bhūṣaṇa "prolongs the description of Kādambari's love-lorn condition out of reason, while he is deficient in his father's fertile imagination."

2 समानवयोविद्यालङ्कारैरनिलकलाकलापालोचनकठोरमतिभिरतिप्रगल्भैरप्राग्भरद्वाह-
कुरुलैः शब्दनाटकाख्यानाख्यायिकाहं स्वयं स्वनादिक्रियानिपुणैर्विनयवपवहारदिभिरवयवः
प्रतिबिम्बैरिव राजपुत्रैः सह रममाणः

king dazzling with his jewels on the head, ears, neck and fingers. In such a mood the reader enjoys the individual topics of charming colours and thoughts, and forgets the progress of the story. Indeed such is the aim of our Sanskrit poetry almost everywhere. So in Kalidasa's Kumāra-sambhava the reader is not anxious to know if Kumāra killed the demons (asuras) to save the gods; but he is entirely lost in the description of Umā's efforts to win the asectic Śiva, destruction of the cupid by the fire from Śiva's angry eye, Rati's lamentation and Umā's asecticism which ultimately drew Śiva to Umā, which her youth and beauty and trap made by cupid in exciting spring season failed to achieve. True to his policy Bāṇa opens his story with the description of the sun-rise with charming colours¹ which enchants the reader at the outset and keeps on his interest even at the sunset at the hermitage.²

The popularity of Bāṇa is indicated by a dozen imitations of his Kādambarī and Harsha-charita. These imitations are given a new name called 'Champu' of which the etymological sense is unknown but it implies short novels using prose and verse indifferently for the same purpose.³ But the verses of Champus are generally intended to summarize the context of the story or to lend greater effect to some point in the narrative or a specially important idea.

The Damayanti-katha on Nalachampu of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa mentioned in the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa is the oldest short novel where the story of Nala and Damayanti is described. His second tale is the Māḍalasa-champu dealing with the Nala story and ascribed to his amateur son.

The third short novel is the Yaśastilaka (written 959 A.D.) of Somadeva, a Digambara Jain and protege of the Chalukya king Arikesin II's son. Its aim is to

1 एकदा तु नातिदूषेदिते नवनलिनसम्पुटमिदि किञ्चिदुन्मुक्तपाटलिभिर्भगवति मरीचिमालिनि.....।

2 दिवावसाने लोहिततारका तपोवनधेनुर्वि कपिला परिवर्तमाना सन्ध्या....।

3 Bāṇa also used verse at the opening of the Harshacharita and the Kādambarī which are essentially in prose. The combination of verse and prose is also noticed in the Jatakamala, Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and other epigraphs, and invariably in dramas.

establish salvation by the Jain faith, and the story describes how the animal sacrifice to the goddess Chāṇḍamāridevatā was stopped by Jain ascetics in Rajapura in the Yodheya country ruled by Maridatta. A similar Jain Champu is the Jivandhara-Champu which is based on the Uttara-purāṇa of Guṇabhadra; it is ascribed to Harichandra who might have been the author of the Dharma-sarmābhyudaya in twenty-one cantos.

The Brahmanical Rāmāyaṇa-Champu is ascribed to Bhoja and Lakshmana Bhaṭṭa, Bhārata-Champu to Ananta dealing with the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. They are of uncertain date. The Udaya-sundari-kathā, in imitation of the Harshacharita, of Sodhala (1000 A.D.) relates the story of the queen of the king Mumukṣurāja of Konkan. The Svāhā-sudhākara-Champu of Nārāyaṇa of seventeenth century describes the love of Agni's wife Svāhā and the Moon in an idyllic manner which has been compared by Pischel with Homer's picture of the love of Aras and Aphrodite. And lastly the Śankara-śveta-vilāsa-champu of a poet Śankara describes a Cheta Sinha whom Warren Hastings mentions.

The Tilakamañjari of Jain Dhanapāla (972 A.D.) is in imitation of the Kādambari and describes Tilakamañjari's love of Samaraketu. Another Jain Udayadeva, alias Vāḍibhasinha flagrantly imitated the Kādambari in his Gadya-Chintāmaṇi. There are several other bad imitations of Bāṇa by the Jain writers.

STORY BOOKS

Like the novels stories in Sanskrit are variously called fairy tales, myths, and fables. It is vain to try to discriminate them. "It was, however, a distinct and important step when the mere story became used for a definite purpose, and when the didactic fable became definite mode of inculcating useful knowledge". A germ of our stories may be traced to the famous hymn of the Rīgveda (vii, 103) in which Brahmins are compared to croaking frogs as they sing at their sacrifice. A certain kinship between man and animals comes out clearly in the Upanishads (Chhāndogya, 1, 12; iv, 1; 5, 7) where we have the allegory or satire of the dogs who search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two

flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raikva, and the instructions of the young Satyakama first by a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird. In the epic, *Mahābhārata*, a clear recognition of fables is noticed, and in the *Purāṇas* and elsewhere stories are often related to illustrate an idea.

Whether known as *Ākhyāna* or *Ākhyāyikā* (narrative) or *Kathā* (conversation) in 'spirit' some stories are essentially connected with *Nitiśāstra*, some with *Arthaśāstra*, and others with *Dharmaśāstra* intending to bear lesson on general good conduct, economics, and royal duties. In 'form' the stories are related in prose, but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse form, and other didactic verses are strewn in the tale. In the structure of the story there is a distinctly artistic touch in complicating and enlarging the theme, not merely by combining a number of fables to form a book, but in interweaving the fables so that the whole would become a unity. The subject matters of the stories are naturally various and are intended to entertain both the adults of various temperament as well as children who are fond of animals and birds behaving like human beings.

The *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* are the earliest and the most popular of the Brahmanical story-books which have influenced the Buddhist and Jain story-books like the *Jātaka-mālā* and also the *Daśakumara-charita*, *Bṛihat-kathā*, *Kathāsarit-sāgara* and several others.

The *Pañchatantra* must have been written after the *Mahābhārata*, and it is not later than 200 A.D. It is Brahmanical in spirit throughout with Vaishṇava tendency. It is ascribed to Vishṇuśarma who was engaged by king Amaraśakti of Mahilaropya, a city of the south, on his promise to teach in six months the three idle princes moral science (*nitiśāstra*) and the royal polity (*dharmaśāstra*) and probably economics (*arthaśāstra*). The book of five (*pañcha*) subject-matters (*tantra*) comprises five parts, viz *mitra-bheda* (separation of friends), *mitra-samprapti* (winning of friends), *Kākolakiya* (*vigraha*, *sandhi*, war and peace), *Labdha-praṇāśa* (loss of one's gettings), and *Aparikshita-kāraka* (*kārita*, inconsiderate action).

The frame-work of the first book is the story of a bull and lion, who are introduced to one another in the

forest by two jackals and become fast friends. One of the jackals, feeling himself neglected, starts an intrigue by telling the lion and the bull that each is plotting against the other. As a result the bull is killed in battle with the lion, and the jackal, as prime minister of the latter, enjoys the fruits of his machinations. This book gives ample room for political discussions. It contains a number of interesting fables. For instance the fate of the ape who pulled out a wedge and was split up by it is recounted to prove the folly of interfering with what does not concern one. Again there are three cases of evils brought on oneself 'in the tales of the foolish monk who took a thief as pupil and had his cash stolen, of the jackal who ran in between and was killed by the impact of two butting rams, and of the procuress who took the place of a weaver's wife in order to further her intrigue with a patron, and suffered in consequence of the loss of her nose.'

The second book, named, 'winning of friends' is meant to illustrate the advantages of judicious friendships and deals with the adventures of a tortoise, a deer, a crow, and a mouse. It contains more attractive stories. For instance there is the tale of the clover king of the doves who saves his retinue from the hunter's net by making them all fly up with it and then has the bonds cut by the mouse, being careful to have his cut last. Again the story of the Brahman who bade his wife prepare food to feed Brahmans at the change of the moon, and to override her objections on the score of economy, tells the story of the overgreedy jackal who, having as food a boar, deer, and hunter, nibbled the end of the bowstring which killed him by splitting his throat.

The third book, named, 'war and peace', points out the danger of friendship concluded between those who are old enemies. An illustration refers to the tale how the stronghold of the owls was burned by the crows. 'The origin of the war is explained as due to an error in speech and this elicits the tale of the ass in the panther's skin, which by braving lost its life. Again, an ascetic rescued a mouse and made it a maiden, when she became ripe for marriage he sought a meet husband, the sun declined the proposals as the cloud was stronger than he, the cloud admitted inferiority to the wind, the wind to the mountain, and it to the mouse, so that the sage turned the maid to a mouse again.'

The fourth book, named, 'loss of what has been acquired' is meant to illustrate how fools can be made by flattery to part with their possessions. The main story of the monkey and crocodile illustrates the point. Both of them lived in such amity that the crocodile's wife became jealous, and falling sick would be content with nothing save her rival's heart. The crocodile, though sad, seeks to entice the ape to visit him but the ape finds out his plan and saves himself by saying that his heart is kept on a fig-tree, escaping when the crocodile seeks to obtain it from the tree. The crocodile seeks to renew the friendship, but is told instead that the ape is not like the ass who came back; this leads to another story.

The fifth book, named, 'inconsiderate action', contains a number of stories connected with the experiences of a barber, who came to grief through failing to take all the circumstances of the case into consideration. For instance, a Brahman goes to the king's palace leaving his pet mongoose in charge of his baby son who has been entrusted by his wife to his care. On his return he finds the mongoose rushing to meet him with bloody paws and mouth; in a rage he deems his son killed and slays the beast, only to find that the blood was that of a cobra which the faithful guardian had destroyed'.¹

¹ "The reconstructed text is unquestionably a text book for the instruction of kings in politics and the practical conduct of everyday life, but it is also a story-book, and the author was not inclined to cut down his stories merely to the bare minimum necessary of his task of instruction."

The chief characteristics consist of the embodiment of and the intermingling of prose with gnomic stanzas and little stanzas giving the moral in each tale. "The language of the author is distinctly elegant. There can be no doubt that the work was the production of an artist."

In addition to Pahlavi and South Indian versions many mixed versions of the text is found in Sanskrit. It was also rendered into old and modern Gujarati, old and modern Maharashtrai, Brajābhāṣā, and into Tamil. It was used freely by Śivadāsa in his *Vetala-pañcha-vimśati*, the Sanskrit texts of the *Sukasaptati*, and the *Dvā-trimśat-puttalika*. "Its fate in western lands has been still more brilliant. The *Hitopadeśa*, of Narayana (900), the Bengal descendant of the *Pañchatantra*, is the best known and most popular work of Sanskrit literature. It comprises four books, viz. *Mitra-labha* (winning of friends), *Suhṛidbheda* (separation of friends), *Vigraha*, (war), and *Sandhi* (peace).

The *Bṛihat-kathā* (long story) of *Guṇādhya* does not exist in its original form. It was written at an uncertain date and locality in *Paiśāchibhāṣā* which is etymologically the language of those who live on eating uncooked meat, and applied to a number of low Prakrit dialects spoken by the most ignorant and degraded classes, which are identified by Grierson with dialects spoken in Kafiristan, the Swat valley, Chitral and Gilgit where the people were cannibals and called eaters of raw flesh (*piśācha*)

The date of *Guṇādhya* cannot be definitely ascertained. It may be that *Bhāsa's* dramas drew some inspiration from this source, but we have no strict proof. The *Bṛihat-kathā* is alluded to in the *Dandin's* *Daśakumāra-charita* and *Bāṇa's* *Kadambarī*. Thus the date may be placed between 400 B. C. and 500 A. D.

The locality is also indefinite owing to the fact that there is one *Pratiṣṭhāna* on the *Godāvari* and another at the junction of the *Ganga* and the *Yamunā* at *Jhūnsi* near *Allahabad*. What is clear that *Ujjain* or *Kauśāmbī* was the scene whence *Guṇādhya* derived much of his inspiration, which is a very different thing from the place where he got royal patronage and completed his work.

The source of the *Bṛihat-kathā* cannot be determined with precision. It is, however, clear that *Guṇādhya* drew upon three sources. "The *Ramayana* gave him the motif of the search of a husband for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after a happy marriage. From Buddhist legends and other traditions of *Ujjain* and *Kauśāmbī* he was deeply familiar with the tales of *Pradyota* or *Mahāsena* and the gallant and dashing hero *Udayana*, whose love-adventures were famed for their number and variety. He was also in touch with the many tales of sea-voyage and strange adventures in far lands which were current in the busy centres of Indian trade, and with the abundant fairy-tales and legends of magic current in India."

The original plot of *Guṇādhya's* *Bṛihat-kathā* appears to be simple. The king *Udayana* had a son named *Naravāhanadatta* who was a model of his father and was born with thirty-auspicious signs which indicated either asceticism of the Buddha's type or universal dominionship of the world. In his youth *Naravāhanadatta* fell in love, despite other wives, with

Madana-mañchukā (mañjukā) who was a hetaira. She hated her position and wanted to be recognised as a woman of family (kulastrī), and avoid her compulsory polyandry. But soon after the happy marriage she was stolen by Mānasavega, a Vidyādhara. Naravāhanadatta with the aid of his faithful minister and a number of friendly princes was successful in discovering and rescuing her and simultaneously winning the empire of the Vidyādharas who dwell beyond the formidable defences of the Himalayas. Naravāhanadatta and other princes set out to different directions in their expedition. Ultimately they were reunited and they recounted the adventures to one another. The reports include reference to Naravāhanadatta's other loves and many a tale of adventurous journeying as well as love-story and fairy lore. A series of adventures were drawn from low life and allied to marvellous happenings of every kind¹.

The disappearance of the Brihatkathā of Guṇādhya is a serious loss in Indian literature because it was "a work which ranked beside the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa as one of the great store houses of Indian literary art." But his enduring memorial is furnished by the versions of the Brihatkathā which exist.

The earliest of the four versions is the Brihatkathā-sloka-saṃgraha of Buddhasvāmin of uncertain date (from eighth or ninth century A.D.) The manuscripts of his work are from Nepal. "It is divided into cantos of which twenty-eight survive, probably a mere fraction of the original, though it extends to 4,539 verses." The story in the main is the same with a lengthy introduction and the mention of a number of Vidyādhara girls whom the hero married in rescuing the heroine Madanamamāñjukā, the daughter of a hetaira, Kalingasena. Buddhasvāmin followed far more faithfully his original than the Kashmirian authors of the later versions.

¹ The author Guṇādhya was clearly the poet, not of kings so much, as of the merchants, the traders, the seafarers, and even the handicraftsmen of his day. "His epic was a bourgeois epic."

The story of the Rāmāyaṇa is thus repeated. The Daśakumara-charita repeats the adventures of the princes. Madanamamāñchuka the heroine, called Kalingasena in Buddhasvāmin's Brihatkathā-sloka-saṃgraha, is repeated in Bhāsa's Chārudatta and the Mṛichchhakatika of a king Śudraka of uncertain identity and date. The fantasy of Guṇādhya lives on also in the Yaśastilaka of Somadeva Suri and in the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapala.

The *Bṛihat-kathā-maṣjari* of the Kashmirian poet Kshemendra (much before Somadeva, 1063 A.D.) in verse comprises eighteen books of which four (xiii, xiv, xv, xvi) are interpolation containing extra matter. The original story of *Guṇādhya* has been retained and the influence of *Buddhasvāmin* is not absent. But the source of Kshemendra (and Somadeva) appears to be a lost version of the *Bṛihat-kathā*. The "dry and sober" abridgement of the main story by Kshemendra (and Somadeva) has deprived it "of all life and attraction." The greater interest of the *Bṛihat-kathā-maṣjari* lies in its extra matter which includes both the versions of the *Pañchatantra* and that of the *Vetāla-pañcha-vimśatikā* which have no real connection with the story of *Naravāhanadatta*. There are a series of additional episodes wherein lies the real interest of Kshemendra's work.

The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* was written by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva, a considerable period after that of Kshemendra, between 1063 and 1081 in order to divert the troubled mind of *Sūryamati*, a princess of *Jalandhar*, wife of *Ananta* and mother of *Kalaśa*. In addition to the eighteen books (*lambhakas*) he has divided the work into 25 *Tarangas* comprising 21,388 verses. The object and method of his composition in verse is related by *Bopadeva* in a verse which in *Keith's* translation reads "literary convention and the connexion of topics have been presented as best as I could, as well as the arrangement of a part of the poem so as not to offend against the sentiment of the story (or the story and its sentiment)." Thus there is a change of order but there is no change in the first five books as given in Kshemendra's work. The source of Somadeva is common to that of Kshemendra and is a lost Sanskrit version of *Guṇādhya's* original work in *Paiśāchi*. Like Kshemendra Somadeva has also retained the main story with additional information regarding *Udayana's* love affairs including the episode that he himself was about to marry the hetaira, *Kalingasenā*, the mother of *Madana mañchukā*, the heroine of *Naravāhanadatta*, whose wives included over a dozen *Vidyādhara* maidens. His additions also included both the versions of the *Pañchatantra* and that of the *Vetāla-pañchavimśatikā* and a series of episodes.

The *Vatāla-paścha-vimśatikā* was originally part of a distinct cycle, but it is preserved in its oldest form in Kaśhemendra's *Bṛihat-kathā-māñjarī* and Somadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara*. The frame-work of this collection of twenty-five stories is as follows. 'Trivikramasena, or as later accounts have it, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, used to get annually a fruit from an ascetic containing a jewel. In gratitude he offers to aid the ascetic who asks him to go to a cemetery and bring down from a tree a corpse which is on it, without uttering a single word, to a spot in a graveyard where certain rites for the attainment of high magical powers are to take place. As the king is carrying the corpse along on his shoulders, a ghoul (*Vetāla*, Vampire) which has entered it, begins to speak and tells him a fairy tale. On the king inadvertently replying to a question, the corpse at once disappears and is found hanging on the tree again. The king goes back to fetch it, and the same process is repeated till the ghoul has told twenty-five stories. Each of these is so constructed as to end in a subtle problem, on which the king is tempted to express his opinion. The king is thus finally defeated and is silent. The demon then reveals to him that the evil ascetic is seeking in reality to slay him (king), and at his bidding the king asks the ascetic to show him how to perform the prostration required in the rite which is to be performed with the corpse, and hews off the evil-doer's head.'

The stories are interesting. One, for instance, ends with the question of relationship of the children of a father who marries the daughter of a lady whom his son espouses. Another relates to the question of the marriage of a girl "when she has been rescued from a demon by the united work of three lovers, one of whom finds by his skill the place where she is hidden, the other by mygic provides an aerial car to seek for her, and the third by valour slays the demon; the king gives the palm to valour. "Which again is the nobler, the husband-to-be who permits his beloved one a last assignation, the robber who lets her pass him unscathed when he knows her mission, or the lover who returns her unharmed when he learns of the husband's noble deed." "A king desires a human sacrifice for his own benefit, parents and Brahman priest seek to carry out, the demon is ready, but the little child to be offered laughs at their shameless folly in ignoring the

transient nature of all earthly things, and his life is spared."¹

The *Simhasana-dvātrīṃśikā*, otherwise known as *Vikrama-charita*, is a book of thirty-two tales of unknown date and authorship. It is later than *Vetāla-pāñchavimśatikā* and comprises both verses and prose. The tales are told by thirty-two maidens. The throne (*simhāsana*) was presented to king *Vikramāditya* by *Indra*. After the death of the king in battle against *Śalivahana* it was buried in the earth where thirty-two spirits bound there in statue form. It is alleged to have been discovered by king *Bhoja* of *Dhāra* in the eleventh century when that king desired to seat himself on it. All the stories relate to king *Vikramāditya*. After relating the tales the spirits got released.

The most interesting of the stories is that of a king who gives to his dearly beloved wife the fruit that drives away old age, but she gives it to the master of the house who gives it to a hetaira and the king in disgust abandons his throne.

In the Jain recension of *Kshemamkara* the stories are framed to make out the king a model of generosity "who spent his substance in gifts to the priests of what he won by his great deed of valour. In it there are narrative verses at the beginning and end of each prose tale. The South Indian version contains like the original form maxim verses and narrative verses mingled in its prose. In a North-Indian recension the stories are lost in the morals. There is another version consisting entirely in verses. The Bengal version ascribed to *Vararuchi* is based on the Jain recension.

There are a few imitations of this work, all dealing with *Vikramāditya*'s adventures. One of those is the *Viracharitra* in thirty chapters of *Ananta* "whose real hero is rather *Śūdraka*, once co-regent of *Śalivahana*,

1. There are several recensions of this book of twenty-five stories. *Śivadasa*'s edition cannot be earlier than twelfth century; it is in prose and verse and may represent the original form of the tales, but some of the verses are taken from *Kshemendra*'s *Bṛihat-katha-māñjarī*. Another anonymous recension is mostly in prose also based on *Kshemendra*. The late recension of *Jambhala-datta* has no verse maxims. An abbreviated version by *Vallabhadāsa* "has been freely rendered into modern Indian vernaculars and also exists in the Mongolian *Ssiddi-kur*."

but later a supporter of the descendants of Vikramāditya. Another is the *Śalivāhanakathā* in eighteen cantos, partly in prose by Śivadāsa. "The third one is known as the *Madhavanalakathā*" in simple prose with Sanskrit and Prakrit stanzas by Ānanda. The fourth one is anonymous called *Vikramodaya* in verse, where the hero appears as a learned parrot. The fifth is a Jain compilation of the fifteenth century, *Pañcha-dāṇḍa-ohhatra-pravandha*, where the hero appears "as a magician and master of black magic."

The third collection is the *Śuka-saptati* where a parrot narrates seventy stories. The frame-work is interesting. A merchant, Haradatta, had a foolish son, Madanasena, who spends his wholetime in making love with his youngman. In order to make the son wise the father presents to the former two wise birds, a parrot and a crow, whose talk converts the son. Thus when he goes out on business he entrusts his young wife to the birds. She regrets the absence of her husband but is ready to accept a substitute. The advice of the crow enrages the lady who threatens to kill it. The wiser parrot seemingly approves of her plan but warns her of the risks she runs and makes her promise not to go and meet any paramour unless she can extricate herself from difficulties as Guṇasālīnī did. The curiosity of the lady is thus aroused. The bird tells one story but only as far as the dilemma when he asks the woman what course the person concerned should take. As she cannot guess, the parrot promises to tell her if she stays at home that night. Seventy days pass in the same way maintaining her virtue till the husband returns.

About half of these seventy stories deal with breaches of the marriage-bond and the rest 'exhibit other instances of the cunning usually of hetairai or clever decisions of arbitrators. Religion plays its parts in helping immorality; religious processions, temples, pilgrimages, marriages, sacrifices, all are convenient occasions for assignations.' One story refers to Mūladeva who is asked to decide which of two hideous wives of demons is the better-looking.

There are other less known collections of tales in Sanskrit, Prakrit and vernaculars. The late *Kathārnava* of Śivadāsa is a collection of thirty-five tales including

stories of fools and thieves. The Purusha-parikṣā of Vidyāpati of Mithilā is a similar collection of forty-four stories, dated fourteenth century. The Pravandha-chintāmaṇi of Jain Merutunga and the Pravandha-kośa of Jain Rājasekhara, both, belonging to the fourteenth century, deal with legends of authors and other important persons. Another Jain story book is Bharataka-dvātrimśikā of which the thirty-two tales are intended to deride Brahmans. The Paṇḍita-parvan of Hemachandra deals with the oldest Jain teachers in a folk-tale form, including the myth of the incest of brother and sister, children of a hetaira, of Chandragupta Maurya dying as a pious Jain. The Jain Charitras and Purāṇas which "do not attain the level of literature, contain elaborate allegory of human life in the form of a tale written in 906 A. D. by Siddha or Siddharshi. The Upaniti-bhāva-prapañcha-kathā in Sanskrit prose with a number of verses is an allegory of "unrelieved dreariness due to the dry and scholastic Jain tenets and the somewhat narrow views of life prevalent in Jain circles."

The Samyak-tattva-kaumudī of unknown date and authorship contains the story of the pious Arhad-dāsa who relates to his eight wives and they to him how they obtained true religion and how overhearing them a king and a thief were converted. The Kathakośa of unknown date and authorship is "a series of tales without connection, in bad Sanskrit with verses in Prakrit, which gives a poor Jain version the story of Nala and Damayanti".

The Champaka-śreṣṭhi-kathānaka of Jinakīrti of fifteenth century is in frame a story containing three tales, one of Ravana's vain effort to avoid fate. The Paṇḍitakośa-kathānaka of the same author contains the tale of a woman who accused of attempts on her honour the youth who has refused to yield to her seductions.

This brief survey of the story class of literature will illustrate the large variety and number of stories dealing with almost all phases of Brahmanical, Jain, and Buddhist faith. Among all classes of literature the stories supply a clear state of our civilization and culture in the different grades of the society.

DRAMAS AND PLAYS

The drama is an important branch of Sanskrit literature. "It has had a full and varied national development, quite independent of Western influence, and it throws much light on Hindu social customs during the centuries preceding the Muhammedan invasion." The essential elements of which the drama is composed had been in existence before drama in a complete form came into being. The hymns of the R̥gveda contain dialogues, such as those of Saramā and the Panis, Yama and Yamī, Puraravas and Urvaśī. Tradition describes Bharata as having caused to be acted before the gods a play representing the wedding (svayambara) of Lakshmi with Purushottama (Vishnu). Tradition further makes Kṛishṇa and his cowherdesses (gopikā) the starting point of the saṁgita, a representation consisting of a mixture of song, music and dancing, which are the other elements of the drama. The Gītagovinda of Jayadeva and the well-known Bengal Yatrās represent this type of play. The other elements include the blending of lyrics and dialogue in prose and also in Prakrit. The Mahābhāshya refers to the full-fledged acted dramas dealing with the episodes of Kṛishṇa, viz., Kāmsavadha and Balibandha.

Of the two kinds of literary composition, viz. Śravya and Prekshya, the latter are the dramas which may be for the purpose of recitation (pāthya) like the other literature or for the play (geya) proper. Of the Pāthya variety of drama there are twelve branches, of which the first are known as Rūpakas (representative plays), viz., nāṭaka, prakaraṇa, nāṭika, samavakara, ihāṁṛiga, dima, vyāyoga, utsrīṣṭikāṅka, prahasana, and Bhāṇa, Vithi and Sattaka. Similarly the Geya variety of drama comprises eleven branches, viz. dombikā, bhāṇa, prasthāna, singaka, bhanikā, preraṇā, rāmākṛidā, hallisaka, rāsaka, śṛigadita, and rāgakāvya.

The art of playing (abhinaya) consists of body-acting (āṅgika), verbal acting (vāchika), acting with the help of costumes and make-up (āhārya) and emotional acting (sāttvika). Dancing which is an element of drama is a form of body-acting only (aṅgabhinaya) with the help of the six major limbs (head, two hands, chest, two sides, waist, and two feet) and the six minor limbs (two shoulders, two arms, back, belly, two thighs, two

shanks or elbows, two knees and neck). The head acting includes twelve parts, *viz.* eyes, eye-brow, eye-lids, eye-balls, cheeks, cheek-bones, nose, lower lips, rows of teeth, tongue, chin, and face. The acting of the feet includes the movement of heels, ankles, soles, and fingers. The movements of the single hand comprise twenty-eight kinds of gestures and of the combined hands twenty-three kinds of gestures.¹

Generally the plays are divided into scenes and acts. The scenes are marked by the entrance of one character and the exit of another. The number of acts in a play varies usually from one to ten. Every play begins with a prologue or introduction, which regularly opens with a prayer or benediction (*nāṇḍi*). Before a new act an interlude (*vishkambha* or *praveśikā*), consisting of a monologue or dialogue, is introduced. In this scene allusion is made to events supposed to have occurred in the interval, and the audience are prepared for what is about to take place. The whole play closes with a prayer for national prosperity which is spoken by one of the principal characters numbering four to five. The duration of the events is to be identical with the time occupied in performing the play on the stage; but occasionally the interval is much longer. The unity of place is not observed. The *Nāṭyaśāstras* supply details of the stage.²

The three earliest playwrights before Kalidāsa are Bhāsa, Śūdraka, and Aśvaghosha. Scholars do not yet agree about the relative position, and dates of these playwrights. Professor Keith places Bhāsa and Śūdraka between Aśvaghosha (300 A. D.) and Kalidāsa (400 A. D.) According to others Bhāsa may be placed as far back as between B. C. 300 and 350, and Śūdraka about B. C. 250.

Fragmentary manuscripts discovered at Turfan have brought to light three of Buddhaghosha's Buddhist dramas of allegorical character. The first of these is known as *Sariputra-prakarana*, otherwise called, *Saradvatī-putra-prakarana*. It belongs to the *Prakarana* type

1 For illustrations see *Amritabazar Patrika*, Puja number, October, 1943, pp. 165-166.

2 For illustrations see the writer's *Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture* sub-voce,

of dramas and comprises nine acts. The story 'deals with the events which led up to the conversion of the young Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra by the Buddha. Śāriputra had an interview with Aśvajit. Then he discussed the question of the claims of the Buddha to be a teacher with his friend, the Vidūshaka, who raised the objection that a Brahman like his master should not accept the teaching of a Kshatriya. Śāriputra repels the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by a man of inferior caste. Maudgalyāyana greets Śāriputra, inquiring of him the cause of his glad appearance, and learns his reasons. The two go to the Buddha, who receives them, and who foretells to them that they will be the highest in knowledge and magic power of his disciples'. The end of the play is marked by a philosophic dialogue between Śāriputra and the Buddha, which includes a polemic against the belief in the existence of a permanent self. It terminates in the praise of his two new disciples by the Buddha, and a formal benediction.

Fragments of the second drama is recorded along with the manuscript of the first one. Its title is missing and the full story is not available. In it 'we find the allegorical figures of Buddhi (wisdom), Kīrti (fame), and Dhṛiti (firmness), appearing and conversing. This is followed by the advent of the Buddha himself. In the other drama also the title is missing; the figures comprise the heroine Magadhavati, the Vidūshaka Komudha-gandha and the hero Somadatta, and a prince, a maid servant and Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

A series of thirteen dramas are ascribed to the great poet Bhaṣa. He is mentioned (along with Sarmilla and Kaviputra and others) by Kalidāsa (fifth century) in his *Malavikāgnimitra*, by Bāṇa (seventh century), by Vakpati (eighth century), and by Rājasekhara (900) as a great poet and playwright. The writers on poetics also refer to him; Vāmana (eighth century) mentions the *Svapna-vasavadatta* and the *Charudatta*; Bhāmaha criticises the plot of *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyana*; and Abhinavaguata (900) refers to *Svapna-vasava-datta* and the *Charudatta*. It is uncertain if Bhaṣa belongs to Ujjayini or he lived under the Western Kshatrapa kings.

The story of the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* in one act

is based on the Mahabharata and reminds one of the talk of the love of the demon Hidimbā for Bhīma, the third (madhyama) of the Pāṇdavas and their marriage resulting in the birth of Ghaṭotkacha.

The Dūtāghatotkacha in one act also belongs to the Vyayoga type of plays. The main story refers to the Kurus being jubilant over the defeat of Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son, at the hands of Jayadratha. Dhritarāshṭra warns them of the dangers that overshadow them. Ghaṭotkacha appears to them and predicts their punishment at the hands of Arjuna.

The third play is Karpābhāra in one act which deals with Karna's armour. He makes himself ready for his fight with Arjuna. He tells Śalya, the Madra king, of the trick by which he won it from the great Paraśurāma. The latter retaliates for the deception by the curse that the arms should fail him in the hour of his need. The curse is fulfilled. Indra comes in the guise of a Brahman and obtains from Karna his weapons and ear-rings. Karna and Śalya go out to battle, and the sound of Arjuna's chariot is heard. The fourth play is Ūrubhanga in one act. In it the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana is described. It ends in the breaking of the thigh of the latter who falls in agony.

The Paśccharātra is in three acts and belongs to the Samavakāra type of plays, where there are more than one hero. The main story deals with the efforts made by well-wishers to save the Kurus and the Pāṇdavas from the fatal conflict which ends in the ruin of the former and grave loss to the latter. The common preceptor who has undertaken a sacrifice for the benefit of Duryodhana demands of the latter as the fee for the sacrifice the grant to the Pāṇdavas of half the realm. Duryodhana promises on condition that they are heard of within five days. In Act II Virāṭa is found missing from those present at the offering. He has to mourn the loss of a hundred Kichakas including the chief one who attempted to insult Draupadī in Virāṭa's palace. Bhīṣma suspects that Bhīma must be at the bottom of this tragedy. In his instigation it is decided to raid Virāṭa's cows, as he hopes thus to bring the facts to light. The foray, however, fails, for the Pāṇdavas are with Virāṭa in disguise. Abhimanyu is taken prisoner and married to Virāṭa's daughter Uttarā. The charioteer in Act III brings back the

news, showing clearly that Arjuna and Bhīma have taken part in the contest. Duryodhana, however, decides to keep faith.

The sixth play, *Dūtavākya*, in one act belongs to the *Vyayoga* type, deals with the *Krishṇa* legend from the *Mahābhārata*, who came as the ambassador (*dūta*) seeking peace with Duryodhana. At that time Bhīshma has been made the chief of the Kuru forces. The ambassador demands the half of the realm for the *Pāṇḍavas*. Duryodhana refuses and seeks to bind the envoy. Enraged, he calls for his magic weapons. But finally he subdues his wrath and receives homage from *Dhṛitarāshṭra*. The seventh play, *Bālācharita*, in five acts deals with the life of *Krishṇa* from his birth until he kills king *Rāma* of Mathurā. This is a lively and vivid picture, full of action. There is much originality in it because it differs from the similar stories of *Krishṇa* in the *Harivamśa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata purāṇas* which are of later growth than the *Bhāsa's* play.

The next two dramas, *Pratimā-nāṭaka*, and *Abhisheka-nāṭaka*, are based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Pratimā-nāṭaka* in seven acts belongs to the *Nāṭaka* type of plays. It shows the story of *Rāma* from *Dāśaratha's* death to his return to *Ayodhyā* after recovering *Sītā* from *Lankā*. It opens with the statue (*pratimā*) hall where *Dāśaratha's* statue is added to those of his predecessors after his death at the banishment of *Rāma* together with *Lakshmaṇa* and *Sītā* as a result of *Kaikeyi's* plot to enthrone *Bharata*.

The *Abhisheka-nāṭaka* in six acts also belongs to the *Nāṭaka* type and is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It deals with the coronation (*abhisheka*) of *Rāma* after his return from *Lankā* without any reference to the second banishment of *Sītā*.

The tenth one, *Avimaraka*, is a play in six acts. It is based not on the epics but on some unidentified story. 'The daughter of king *Kuntibhoja*, *Kurangi*, is saved from an elephant by an unknown youth, who in reality the son of the *Sauvira* king, is living with his father as a member of a degraded caste for a year as the outcome of a curse. His low status forbids his union with the princess. But love triumphs and the lovers secretly meet, the youth coming in the guise of a thief. The news leaks out and the youth flies away.

In despair he seeks to burn himself to death but Agni repulses him. He attempts to throw himself from a rock but a Vidyadhara dissuades him giving him a ring which enables him to enter the palace unseen and save Kuraṅgi, likewise desolated, from suicide. Then Narada appears and reveals the identity of Avimaraka who is not in fact the son of the Sauvira king, but the son of Agni by Sudarśana, the wife of the king of Kāśī, who gave him over on his birth to Suchetana, her sister, wife of the Sauvira king. The happy marriage thus takes place with the approval of all those connected with the pair.'

The *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* is a *Prakaraṇa* in four acts. The story resembles the one in the *Bṛihat-kathā* of Guṇādhya and is referred to in the *Mahabhārata*. The Vatsa king Udayana goes on an elephant hunt, but is taken prisoner by his enemy, Pradyota Mahāsena of Ujjayinī, a counterfeit elephant being employed for his overthrow. Yaugandharāyaṇa, the minister of Udayana, who is the hero of the play, determines to revenge the king. In Ujjayinī Mahāsena discusses with his wife the question of the marriage of their daughter, Vāsavadattā, when the news of the capture of Udayana arrives. They decide that she shall take lessons in music from the captive. The two fall in love. Yaugandharāyaṇa comes to Ujjayinī in disguise with his friends. Through his machinations the king is enabled to escape with Vāsavadattā. But the minister is captured after a gallant fight. Mahāsena, however, appreciates the cleverness of the ministers and approves the marriage of the pair.

The *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* or *Svapna-nāṭaka*, which belongs to the *Nāṭaka* type, is a play in six acts, the masterpiece of Bhāsa and the most mature of his dramas. It is in continuation of the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*. 'The minister is anxious to secure for Udayana, the Vatsa king who has married the princess Vāsavadattā of Ujjayinī, an extension of his power by wedding him to Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of Magadha. Udayana, however, refuses as he is unwilling to leave his beloved Vāsavadattā. The minister induces Vāsavadattā to aid in his scheme. Taking advantage of a temporary separation from the king, he spreads the rumour that the queen and he have perished in a conflagration. The king is thus induced to consider

marriage with Padmavati. The minister has entrusted to her care the queen, giving out that she is his sister. Padmavati is willing to accept the love of the king, but learning that he has never ceased to cherish the memory of Vāsavadattā she is seized by a severe head-ache. The king comes to comfort her but does not find her and lies down, sleep overcoming him. Vāsavadattā sits down beside the sleeping person considering him to be Padmavati. But as he begins to speak in his sleep about Vāsavadattā she rises and leaves him, but not before he has caught a glimpse of her, in a dream (svapna) as he thinks. He awakes and goes to the palace. Then he finds the good news that his foes have been defeated. At that time a messenger comes from Ujjayini bearing the picture of nuptial of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. Padmavati sees this picture and recognises that Yaugandharāyaṇa's sister left with her was really Vāsavadattā. The minister arrives to explain to the satisfaction of all the plan he has devised to secure Udayana's ends.

The thirteenth and last of the existing plays, *Charudatta*, is in four acts without the Nāndi verse at the opening and the *Bharata-vākya* at the close. 'Charudatta, a merchant whose generosity has impoverished him, has seen a hetaira Vasantasenā at a festival, and they have fallen in love. Pursued by the king's brother-in-law Samsthāna, Vasantasenā takes refuge in Charudatta's house. When she goes she leaves in his care her gold ornaments, and ransoms for his creditors to a servant of Charudatta, who renounces the world and becomes a monk. In the night the ornaments are stolen by a thief Sjjalaka, in order to gain the means to purchase the freedom of a slave of Vasantasenā with whom he is in love. Charudatta is overcome with shame at learning of the theft of goods deposited in his care. His noble wife sacrifices a pearl necklace, which she gives to Vidūshakā to hand over to Vasantasenā in lieu of her lost jewels. He takes the ornament to the hetaira, who has learned of the theft, but accepts it to have the excuse of visiting the merchant once more. She starts out to Charudatta's house after handing over the slave girl to Sajjalaka. At this point the play ends abruptly. It seems, however, that Charudatta was accused of theft and Vasantasenā was in grave danger

of life through the machinations of the king's brother-in-law.¹

The *Mricchhakaṭika*, a *Prakarana* in ten acts, is ascribed to an unidentified king Śūdraka to whom no definite date could yet be assigned, although he would be after Bhāsa and before Kalidāsa. The first four acts of the play are a reproduction with slight changes of Bhāsa's *Chārudatta*. The names are slightly changed; the king's brother-in-law is called *Samsthānaka*, and the thief *Śarvilaka*. Act I carries the action upto the deposit of the ornaments by *Vasantasenā*. Act II relates *Vasantasenā*'s generosity in releasing the shampooer who turns monk and the attack made on him by an elephant from which her servant *Kāmapuraka* saves him and gets as reward a cloak which *Vasantasenā* recognises as *Chārudatta*'s. Act III describes *Śarvilaka*'s success in stealing the jewels and the resolve of *Chārudatta*'s wife to give her necklace to replace them. In Act IV *Śarvilaka* gives the stolen jewels to *Vasantasenā* who is, therefore, pleased with him, gives him permission to marry her slave girl although she is aware of his theft. At that time he learns that his friend *Āryaka*, who was imprisoned by the king as according to a prophecy the former was to get the kingship, has escaped from captivity. Thus *Śarvilaka* leaves his newly made bride with *Vasantasenā* in order to help his friend. At that time *Vidūshaka* comes with the necklace of *Chārudatta*'s wife, which *Vasantasenā* accepts in order to use it as a pretext to see *Chārudatta* once more. Act V further describes *Vidūshaka*'s visit, her departure from

¹ It will be noticed that these dramas have certain features which are to be seen nowhere else. First, no other playwright has written so many dramas. Secondly, the variety is also missing elsewhere. Of these thirteen dramas the first seven are based on the *Mahābhārata*, the next two on the *Ramayana*, the following three on the *Kathā* class of literature, and the last one on the *hetaira* stories. Bhāsa's originality in creating a sustained interest even on previously known stories of the audience is no where lacking. Thirdly, of all Sanskrit playwrights, Bhāsa appears to have recognised to a certain extent the distinction between a play proper and a dramatic literature, the former being more suitable for enacting and the latter for recitation or reading at leisure. Even the dramas of Kalidāsa are less suitable for the stage while some of the later dramas of Bhavabhūti and others can never be enacted in their entirety and with success.

her house, and the storm which forces her to spend the night in Charudatta's house. Act VI reveals her next morning offering to return the necklace but her gift is refused by Charudatta's child to replace his clay-cart (*mrith-sakatika*) with a golden one. She is to rejoin Charudatta in a neighbouring park, the property of Samsthānaka. But by an error she enters the cart of Samsthānaka. And Āryaka who has been seeking a hiding place leaps into the cart of Charudatta and is driven away. Two policemen stop the cart, and one recognises Āryaka and protects him from the other with whom he contrives a quarrel. In Act VII Charudatta sees his cart drive up, discovers Āryaka, permits him to go off in it, and he himself leaves to find Vasantasena. In Act VIII Samsthānaka with the Viṭa and a slave awaiting Vasantasena in his park meets the shampooer turned monk washing his robe in the tank, insults him and beats him. Then Vasantasena arrives. Samsthānaka tries but fails to win her and beats her apparently to death and buries her under leave-cover. For this cruelty the Viṭa and the slave leave his service and go to Āryaka. The monk re-enters to dry his robe, finds and restores to life Vasantasena, and takes her to the monastery to be cared for. In Act IX Samsthānaka as the chief of Police accuses Charudatta as the murderer of Vasantasena. Her mother is summoned as a witness but she defends Charudatta. The Police officer testifies to the escape of Āryaka, which implicates Charudatta. Vidūshaka en route to return to Vasantasena her jewels given to Charudatta's child visits the court but in his anger with Samsthānaka lets fall the jewels. This fact taken together with the evidence that Vasantasena spent the night with Charudatta and left next morning to meet him in the park, and the signs of struggle there deceives the judge who condemns Charudatta to exile, but the king Palaka at the instigation of Samsthānaka converts the sentence into one of death. Act X reveals the hero led to death in a procession. Getting this news the monk appears with Vasantasena just in time to prevent Charudatta's death. While the lovers rejoice at their re-union, the news is brought that Āryaka has slain Palaka and succeeded to the throne and granted a principality to Charudatta and approves of his legal marriage with Vasantasena. The crowd demands Samsthānaka's

death but Chārudatta pardons him. The monk is rewarded by being appointed the chief of Buddhist monasteries in the realm.¹

Three dramas are ascribed to the famous poet Kālidāsa who is placed during the reign of the Gupta king Chāndragupta II, Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, at 400. "The Mālavikāgnimitra is unquestionably the first dramatic work of Kālidāsa". The play in five acts is a Nāṭaka. Act I shows the heroine Mālavikā as Vidarbha princess, destined as the bride of Agnimitra, escaping and seeking Agnimitra after her brother Māhavasena has been captured by her cousin Yājñasena. Her escort was attacked by foresters on the way but she reaches Vidiśā, the Mitra capital, and finds refuge in the home of Dhārīṇī, the senior queen of Agnimitra and learns dancing. In Act II king Agnimitra happens to see a picture in which Mālavikā is depicted, and falls in love with her. All ends in happiness after the usual palace incidents.²

The Vikramorvaśī in five acts, a Trotaka or Nāṭaka, falls in the interval between the author's youthful Mālavikāgnimitra and his mature perfection of the Śakuntalā. Here is shown the love of Pururavas, a king, and Urvaśī, a heavenly nymph (apsaras). The prologue is followed by the screams of the nymphs from whom Urvaśī on her return from the Kailāsa mountain has been torn away by a demon. The king Pururavas hastens to her aid, recovers her, and restores her first to her friends, and then to the Gandharva king, but not before both have fallen desperately in love. Urvaśī and a friend appear in the air and drops a letter written on

¹ As a matter of fact it is the best play in Sanskrit surpassing even Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā. While Kālidāsa stands highest in poetical refinement, in tenderness and depth of feeling, Śūdraka is pre-eminent among all play-wrights for the dramatic qualities of vigour, life and action and sharpness, and of excelling in genius even Shakespeare.

² This love story is similar to that of Bhāsa's Svapnavasavadatta wherefrom Kālidāsa might have taken the theme. Pushyāmītra, Agnimitra, and Vasumitra are clearly of the Sunga dynasty formed by the first through the deposition of the last Maurya king in 178 B.C. The contact with Yavanas is also historical. The heroic sacrifice reflects that of Samudragupta mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription. "The Mālavikāgnimitra is the premature attempt of Kālidāsa at dramatic art. It is essentially a work of youthful promise and achievement".

birch bark breathing her love for the king. Urvaśi's friend appears and finally Urvaśi herself, but after a brief exchange of love passages Urvaśi is recalled to play a part in heaven in a drama produced by Bharata. Two pupils of Bharata report that Urvaśi played her part badly in the piece on Lakshmi's wedding; asked whom she loved, she answered Pururavas instead of Puruśhottama (Vishṇu). Bharata cursed her but Indra intervened and gave her leave to dwell on earth with Pururavas until he had seen the fate of her child. Angry at her husband for some trivial cause Urvaśi entered the grove of Kumāra and was cursed to be converted into a creeper. The king laments at her disappearance and in his madness for her grasps a creeper which in his embrace turns into Urvaśi. The king and his beloved are back in capital. At that time an arrow falls with an inscription "arrow of Āyus, son of Urvaśi and Pururavas." While the king is amazed because he knew nothing of Āyus's birth and concealment by Urvaśi, a woman comes from a hermitage with a gallant boy to return him to his mother as he has violated the rules of the hermitage by slaying a bird. Urvaśi admits the fact of concealment and weeps to think of their severance, now inevitable, since the king has seen her son. But while Pururavas is ready to abandon the realm to the boy and retire to the forest in grief, Nārada comes with a message of good tidings. A battle is raging between the gods and the demons; Pururavas's arms will be necessary, and in reward he may have Urvaśi's society for life.¹

The Śakuntalā in four or five recensions but in all in seven acts is the most popular drama. The prologue leads up to the picture of the king Dushyanta in swift pursuit of an antelope entering the hermitage of Kaṇva. There on civil dress he enters the grove and hears Priyambadā and Anusūyā joking with Śakuntalā

¹ In this drama Kalidasa shows a marked advance in imagination. His source is not precisely known. The story is old. It occurs in the R̥gveda; it is degraded to sacrificial application in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; it is also found in a number of Purāṇas, and in the Matsya there is a parallel to Kalidasa's version; for the motif of the nymph's transformation into a creeper, instead of a swan, is already present; Pururavas's mad search for her and her rescue from a demon are known. The passionate and undisciplined love of Urvaśi is happily displayed.

who is troubled by a bee and ask her to seek the help of the king. Thereupon Dushyanta reveals himself and elicits that Śakuntalā, born of Viśvāmitra and Menakā, a nymph, is but a foster daughter of Kapva and is intended to be married to a suitable groom. At that time both Śakuntalā and Dushyanta fell desperately in love. The king gives order for the hunt to end, sends back the army and Vidushaka to the capital but he himself stays back and secretly marries Śakuntalā. In Act IV Priyambadā and Anusoyā report that the king has left after his secret marriage with Śakuntalā and that in her sadness she forgot to receive properly the harsh ascetic Durvāsas who has cursed her to be forgotten by her beloved but may recollect at the sight of a signet (śakuntala). A voice from the sky has informed Kapva at the moment of his return to the hermitage of the secret marriage and of Śakuntalā's approaching maternity. Under the malign influence of the curse the king does not recognize his secretly married wife and cannot receive her. The hermits reprove him and insist on leaving her, refusing her the right to go back with them, since her duty is by her husband's side. The king's priest is willing to give her the safety of his house till the babe be born, but a figure of life in female shape appears and bears Śakuntalā away, leaving the king still unrecognizing, but filled with wonder. It is reported that policemen have arrested a fisherman accused of theft of a royal ring found in a fish which he has caught; it is Dushyanta's ring which Śakuntalā had dropped while bathing en route to the king's palace. The sight of the ring reminds the king of his marriage with Śakuntalā and grief and repentance overcome him. From his despair the king is awakened by the screams of the Vidushaka roughly handled by Mātali, Indra's charioteer, who has come to take the king as the gods need his aid for battle. In Act VII Dushyanta is revealed victorious and travelling with Mātali in a divine car to Hemakūṭa, where dwells in the place of supreme bliss the seer Maricha and his wife. Here the king sees a gallant boy pulling about a young lion to the terror of two maidens. They ask the king to intervene who feels a pang as he thinks of his sonlessness. To his amazement he learns that this is no hermit's son, but his own. Śakuntalā is revealed to him in the dress of an ascetic. Maricha crowns their happiness by making it clear to

Śakuntalā "that her husband was guiltless of the sorrow inflicted upon her."¹

An ordinary author of Western temperament would have concluded the story of Śakuntalā like the story of Romeo and Juliet, at the fifth act where she was rejected. The master mind of Kalidasa prolonged the story not only to keep up the rule of dramaturgy not to end in tragedy but to demonstrate the Indian national principle of conjugal love being based on Dharma (religion). The union based on external attraction does not last as was shown in the union of Śiva and Pārvatī. Dushyanta was at first fascinated by Śakuntalā's youth and beauty and she herself easily yielded contrary to the tradition of Kaṇva's hermitage which was retained by Anusūyā and Priyambadā, because Śakuntalā had in her blood the weakness out of which she was begotten on her mother nymph by a sage. This ideal is missed in Shakespear's Tempest and in all Western dramas of similar circumstances. The rejection of Śakuntalā was natural for Dushyanta despite Durvāsas's curse which was devised to save the face of the king. His queen Hamsapadikā had been singing the heart-rending song that the king neglected her as soon as the junior queen Vasumatī came into the palace. Śakuntalā if even accepted would have been similarly treated at the inevitable presence of a fourth queen. But by the rejection Kālidāsa purified the king's basic lust for beauty and youth and revived the sagely inheritance in Śakuntalā herself. It is for this reason that after rejection Śakuntalā was taken to the peaceful heavenly hermitage of Mārīcha rather than to the Kaṇva's earthly hermitage

¹ The story of Śakuntalā is based on that of the Mahabharata. But the addition and alteration have made the play a perfect one. "Kalidasa excels here, in depicting the emotions of love, from the first suggestion in an innocent mind to the perfection of passion; he is hardly less expert in pathos." "The richness of creative fancy and his skill in the expression of tender feeling assign him a high place among the dramatists of the world. The harmony of the poetic sentiment is nowhere disturbed by anything violent or terrifying. Every passion is softened without being enfeebled. The ardour of love never goes beyond aesthetic bounds; it never maddens to wild jealousy or hate. The torments of sorrow are toned down to a profound and touching melancholy." Hence it was that Śakuntalā exercised so great a fascination on the calm intellect of Goethe. Sir William Jones speaks equally highly of it. Professors Keith and Macdonell share the praise as shown by the above quotations.

where it was but natural to send her back. The repentance of the king at the sight of his signet ring removed his perpetual sin, and the ascetic practice of Śakuntalā in the quietness of the heavenly hermitage of Mārīchā unlike her fast life at Kanva's hermitage prepared herself for a lasting union of hearts through the agency of her son Bharata.

This may bring home the remarkable comment of Goethe that the drama of Śakuntalā combines in itself 'the flower of youth and the fruit of advanced age, the earth and the heaven.' Poet Rabindranath Tagore admires and endorses Goethe's insight of this unique production of Kālidāsa and after comparing the *Tempest* and the *Romeo and Juliet* with the *Śakuntalam* comes to the correct conclusion that 'no drama of Shakespeare or any other Western or Indian author attained the height of Kālidāsa's drama'.

The wellknown dramas, *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā*, and *Nāgānanda* are definitely ascribed to the same author Harsha. Professor Keith identifies this dramatist Harsha with "unquestionably the king Harshavardhana of Kanauj" (606-548).

The *Ratnāvalī* in four acts is a *Nāṭikā*. The story relates to king Udayana of Vatsa already celebrated by Bhāsa in his *Svapna-Vasavadattā* and *Pratijsā-yaugandharāyaga*. The minister Yaugandharāyaga has planned the marriage of the Vatsa king Udayana with the daughter of the king of Ceylon. He spreads the news that the queen Vasavadattā has died in a fire at Lavanaka. The king of Ceylon then yields the hand of his daughter and sends her in the care of Udayana's chamberlain and his own minister Vasubhūti to Vatsa, but, wrecked at sea, she is rescued by a merchant of Kausāmbi, taken there, and handed over to Vasavadattā. The queen seeing the beauty of the princess, now named Sāgarikā, decides to keep her away from her innocent husband. But at the spring festival which she celebrates with Vatsa, Sāgarikā appears at the queen's train, watches the ceremony of the worship of love god (Kāma) and falls in love with the king. But the queen herself appears before Sāgarikā, meets the king and listens to his confession of love to Sāgarikā, and then bitterly reproaches him. At the plight of the king Sāgarikā attempts suicide wherefrom Vidushaka saves her and hands her over to the king. When a magician is displaying his art

Vasubhuti escaping the shipwreck appears and relates the tale of disaster. News suddenly comes that the queen's quarters are on fire and Vāsavadattā reveals that Sagarikā is there. The king rushes to aid her and emerges with her. Vasubhuti recognizes in Sagarikā the princess and Yaugandharāyana arrives to confess his plot. Vāsavadattā gladly gives the king to Ratnāvalī, the princess of Ceylon, since her husband will thus be lord of the earth, and Ratnāvalī is her full cousin.

The *Priyadarśikā* in four acts, also a *Nāṭikā*, shows the same old story in a slightly different form. It is reported that the king of Kalinga has driven away the king Dridhavarman, during Vatsa's imprisonment at the court of Pradyota, because of his refusal to marry his daughter to him. The princess is given shelter by her father's ally, Vindhyaketu who, however, offends Vatsa and is attacked and killed by Vatsa's general Vijayasena. The beautiful princess (*Priyadarśikā*) is taken as a part of the booty and the king allots *Āraṇyakā*, so named because she is picked from the forest. Act IV reveals *Āraṇyakā* in prison, the king in despair, and the queen in sorrow, as she has learned from a letter from her mother that Dridhavarman, her aunt's husband, is in bondage needing Vatsa's aid. Vijayasena and Dridhavarman's chamberlain bring the news of the defeat of the Kalinga king and re-establishment of Dridhavarman. Then it is represented that *Āraṇyakā* has poisoned herself. Vāsavadattā is filled with remorse. The chamberlain recognizes the princess. But Vatsa's magic art revives her. Vāsavadattā recognizes her cousin, and grants her hand to the king.

The *Nāgānanda* in five acts is a *Nāṭaka*. It is dramatization of Buddhist legend which was told in the *Bṛhatkathā* and in the *Vetālapañcha-vimśati*. Jimutavāhana is a prince of the Vidyādharas and Mitravasu, the prince of the Siddhas. Mitravasu's sister is told by Gauri in a dream that Jimutavāhana would be her husband. She discloses the dream to a friend, which he overhears. The Vidushaka forces a meeting between the timid lovers who slyly confess their affection. But an ascetic comes and takes away the maiden to a hermitage. In Act II Malayavati is love-sick in a garden where the king enters and declares his love to her. Mitravasu comes to offer him his sister's hand. The king declines being ignorant of the identity of the

offer. She deems herself disdained and seeks to hang herself. Friends rescue her. Jimutavahana appears and proves that she is his love by showing a picture. The two exchange vows and are married. In Act IV Jimutavahana while strolling with Mitravasu sees a heap of bones of serpents daily offered to Garuḍa. He resolves to save the serpents by offering himself to Garuḍa. The mother of Śaṅkhachūḍa, a snake, refuses the substitute but Garuḍa bears away Jimutavahana. Act V opens with the anxiety of the parents and wife of Jimutavahana, to whom a jewel from his crown is borne. Śaṅkhachūḍa appears and reveals to Garuḍa his crime in giving the substitute. The hero expires as his parents arrive. Garuḍa is ashamed. Gauri appears to cut the knot, revive the prince and re-establish him in his realm in order to fulfil Malayavati's dream. By a shower of ambrosia the snakes slain by Garuḍa revive, and he promises to forego his cruel revenge.¹

The *Mattavilāsa* is a Prashasana, farce. Its author is king Mahendra Vikrama-Varman, son of the Pallava king Sinha-Vishnu-Varman, and contemporary of the king Harsha of Kanauj. He ruled in Kāśchī in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. In the play he is alluded to bear the titles of *Avanibhājana*, *Gaṇabhāra*, and *Mattavilāsa*.

The play opens with a *Kapālin* of the skull-bearing order and his damsel, *Devasomā*, intoxicated and unsteady and helplessly falling down. In remorse he proposes to foreswear strong drink but is persuaded by her not to break their penance and praise drink and their roles of life. In a description of Kāśchī a parallel is drawn between a tavern where the pair is seeking charity and a scene of sacrifice. The two get alms but the skull serving as begging bowl is lost. Suspicion of theft falls on a Buddhist monk, *Sakyabhikṣu*, who laments that despite the excellent fare he has received the law forbids the enjoyment of strong drink and women. He concludes that the true gospel of the Buddha

¹ In comparison with Kalidasa and earlier dramatists Harsha is much inferior in art and style. There is not much originality. But he has effectively devised the plot in both the *Ratnavali* and the *Priyadarśika*. The emotion of love is noble and gay. In the *Nagananda* 'Harsha rises in depicting the emotions of self-sacrifice, charity, magnanimity, and resolution in the face of death.'

contained no such ridiculous restrictions, and expresses his desire to benefit the whole community by discovering the authentic text. When challenged he denies that his begging bowl is that of the Kapālin. His arguments do not convince the Kapālin. The Buddhist picks up Davaśomā when she falls to the ground after trying to pull out locks of hair from his shaven head, the Kapālin accuses him of taking her in marriage and invokes punishment on the violator of the rights of Brahmans. A Pāsupata worshipper of Śiva is appealed to as an arbitrator but he finds the task too difficult. Both claimants proudly assert their adherence to a creed which forbids lying, and the Buddhist recites in addition the whole list of moral rules which makes up the Śikṣhāpada. Pāsupata suggests that they must take the matter before a court. En-route, however, a mad man who has rescued the skull from a dog appears and offers it to the Pāsupata who haughtily rejects the horrible object, but suggests the Kapālin as the recipient. The Kapālin accepts the skull and turns away the mad man. The Kapālin apologizes to the Buddhist monk. The drama closes with the usual benediction (Bharata-vākya) referring to the ruling king and the author.¹

Three dramas and some other unknown works are ascribed to Bhavabhūti whose full name is Śrīkaṇṭha Nīlakaṇṭha Bhavabhūti, son of Nīlakaṇṭha and Jātukarṇi, grandson of Bhaṭṭagopāla, of Kāśyapagotra and of Taittirīya school of the Black Yajurveda. He belonged to Padmapura, apparently in Vidarbha but he shifted to Ujjāyini where before Mahākālā his dramas were played. Kāhāna mentions him as a member of the court of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja who was defeated by Muktapīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir in about 736 A. D.

His earliest play is the *Mālatī-Madhava*, which is a Prakaraṇa in ten Acts. A Buddhist nun, Kāmandakī, plans to unite in marriage her two favourite pupils, Mālatī and Mādhava, who are respectively the daughter

¹ The subject is trivial. The author merely shows his acquaintance with the Buddhist tenets. The style is simple and elegant and is appropriate to the subject matter. Verses are not without force and beauty. In prose speeches unwieldy compounds of Bhavabhūti muster their appearance occasionally. The author has the merit of avoiding the gross vulgarity. A variety of metres and a number of Prakṛits are used in this short play.

and the son of two friends, Bhurivasu, the minister of the king of Padmāvatī, and Devarāṭa, minister of the king of Vidarbha. The king of Padmāvatī, however, presses his minister to marry Mālātī to his friend Nandana who has a beautiful sister, Madayantikā who is a friend of Mālātī. Mādhava with his friend Makaranda goes to a festival and Mālātī also is sent there by Kāmandakī. Both see each and fall in love. Both are further enamoured by seeing the pictures drawn of each other by them. When the lovers are meeting in a temple of Śiva, Madayantikā is in danger of death from an escaped tiger, and is rescued by Makaranda. These two are then deeply in love. The king, however, resolved on the mating of Mālātī and Nandana. Mādhava, despairing of success through Kāmandakī's aid alone, decides to win the favour of the ghouls of the cemetery by an offering of fresh flesh. From the cemetery he hears cries in a Chāmūḍā temple nearby. He rushes just in time to save Mālātī who was about to be offered as a sacrifice to the goddess Chāmūḍā by the Kāpālika, Aghoraghanta and his consort Kapālakūḍalā, for which purpose he has stolen Mālātī from the palace. A struggle follows between Mādhava and Aghoraghanta and the latter is slain. Kapālakūḍalā swears to avenge her companion's death. Mālātī's marriage with Nandana is, however, fixed. Before the ceremony Kāmandakī takes her to the temple of Love-god wherefrom Mālātī and Mādhava are sent away to a secret place, and Makaranda dressed as Mālātī goes back to the palace to marry Nandana. It is shewn how poor Nandana has been turned out by his false bride. On hearing this Madayantikā comes to rebuke her newly married sister-in-law. But removing the bed-cover under which the false bride was lying down she recognizes her own lover Makaranda in the garb of Mālātī. They are both happy and elope to the hiding place of Mālātī and Mādhava. The fugitives were succoured by Mādhava and so splendidly routed their foes that the king, learning of it, gladly forgives the runaways. But in the tumult Mālātī has been stolen away by Kapālakūḍalā. Act IX shows the wild search of Mādhava for Mālātī. Saudāmini, a pupil of Kāmandakī, rescued Mālātī from Kapālakūḍalā and with the good news the life of Mādhava is saved who was about to commit suicide. Act X opens with

a scene of lament by Kāmandakī and others. All become happy when Saudāmini arrives with Mālātī and Mādhava and with the news that the king approves their marriage.¹

The Mahāvīracharita is a Nāṭaka in seven acts. It describes the main story of the Rāmāyaṇa ending with Rāma's return from Lankā.²

The Uttara-Rāma-Charitra is also a Nāṭaka in seven acts covering a period of twelve years. It concludes the story of Rāma and Sitā commencing with the banishment of Sitā and with her re-appearance with her sons Lava and Kuśa. Sitā is sad after the departure of Janaka, who came to them after their return from Lankā. Rāma consoles her. News is brought from Vasishṭha that Rāma should meet every wish of Sitā as she is an expectant mother but rank first of all duty to his people. Lakshmana shows them the picture containing scenes of their wanderings. Sitā wishes to revisit the hermitages on the Gangā. Rāma prays that his magic arms may spontaneously pass to his sons to be born soon. Sitā, wearied, falls asleep. The Brahman Durmukha brings the news that some people doubt Sitā's purity at Rāvaṇa's place. Rāma decides to banish Sitā and commands Lakshmana to take away Sitā and leave her at the forest on the plea of her visiting the old scenes. In Act II a conversation between an ascetic Atreyī and the spirit of woods, Vāsantī, reveals that Rāma is celebrating the horse sacrifice, and that Vālmiki is bringing up two fine boys to sing the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāma appears, sword in hand, after slaying an impious Śūdra, Śambuka, who is purified at death by Rāma and appears in spirit form and leads his benefactor to Agastya's hermitage. In Act III two rivers, Tamasā and Muralā, report in a conversation that Sitā abandoned

1 The main story, with the "episode of the two pairs of lovers, ending in elopements occurs in the Kathasarit-sāgara and other collections of stories together with the motifs of the sacrifice of a maiden by a magician and the offering of flesh to the demons to obtain their aid."

2 This Nāṭaka of Bhavabhūti lacks the novelty of his Prakaraṇa. The effort to give some unity to the plot covering fourteen years is unsuccessful. The characterization is feeble. The fatal error is the narration of events in long speeches in lieu of action.

would have killed her but Gangā preserved her and entrusted her two sons, born in her sorrow, to Vālmiki to train. Then Sītā in a spirit form appears unseen by mortals under Tamasā's care to revisit the scenes of her youth. Rāma also appears. At the sight of the scene of their early love, both faint, but Sītā, recovering touches unseen Rāma who recovers only to relapse and be revived again. Finally Sītā departs leaving Rāma fainting. Act IV shows a hermitage where Janaka has retired from his kingly duties owing to the grief on Sītā's banishment by Rāma. Kausalyā, Rām's mother, who has also left the palace life, meets Janaka. Both forget self in consoling each other. They are interrupted by the merry noises of the children of the hermitage. One, especially pre-eminent, is Lava who has a brother Kuśa and who knows Rāma only from Vālmiki's work. The horse for Rāma's sacrifice approaches, guarded by soldiers. Undaunted by the royal claim of sovereignty Lava decides to oppose it. Act V shows exchange of martial taunts between Lava and Chandraketu, Lakshman's son, who guards the horse for Rāma, though each admires the other. In Act VI, a Vidyādhara and his wife, flying in the air, describe the battle of the youthful heroes and the magic weapons they use. The arrival of Rāma interrupts the conflict. He admires Lava's bravery, which Chandraketu extols; he questions him but finds that the magic weapons came to him spontaneously. Kuśa enters from Bharata's hermitage, whither he has carried Vālmiki's poem to be dramatized. Rāma admires the two splendid youths who are, though he knows it not, his own sons. In Act VII all take part in a supernatural spectacle devised by Bharata and played by the Apsarasas. Sītā's fortunes after her abandonment are depicted. She weeps and casts herself in the Bhāgirathi. She reappears supported by Prithvi, the Earth goddess, and Gangā, each carrying a new-born infant. Prithvi declaims against the harshness of Rāma, Gangā excuses his acts. Both ask Sītā to care for the children until they are old enough to hand over to Vālmiki, when she can act as she pleases. Rāma is carried away. He believes the scenes real. Now he intervenes in the dialogue, now he faints. Arundhati suddenly appears with Sītā, who goes back to her husband, and brings him back to consciousness. The people acclaim the queen. Vālmiki

presents to them Rāma's sons, Kuśa and Lava, and Sītā disappears underground.¹

The *Veṇiśamhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa is dated before 800 because the author is cited by Vāmana and Ānandavardhana (800 A. D.) and was the grantee of a copper plate inscription of 840. The play is a Nāṭaka in six acts. The story derived from the *Mahābhārata* deals with the redressing (*samhāra*) of Draupadī's braid (*veṇi*) by Bhīma who avenged Draupadī's insult in being dragged by her braid by slaying Duṣṣāsana. Draupadī vowed never to braid her hair until the insult is avenged.

Bhīma reveals his bitter anger by declaring that he will break with Yudhisṭhira if the peace be made with the Kauravas for which Kṛishṇa has been sent as an envoy, before the insult to Draupadī has been fully avenged. Sahadeva fails to appease him. Draupadī adds to his bitterness by relating a fresh insult in a careless allusion by Duryodhana's queen Bhānumatī. Kṛishṇa returns unsuccessful in making peace and escaped detention in enemy's camp by the use of his magic arms. Bhānumatī relates an ominous dream; a Nakula (*ichneumon*, also, the fourth Pāṇḍava brother) had slain a hundred serpents (representing all the Kaurava brothers). Duryodhana at first suspicious of betrayal inclines to fear but shakes off the depression, consoles the queen, and indulges in passages of love. He makes light of the fears of the mother of Jayadratha of Sindhu, slayer of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, who fears the revenge of the Pāṇḍavas. He despises the resentment of the Pāṇḍavas, gloates over the insults heaped on Draupadī, and mounts his chariot for the battle. Act III shows a demoness and her husband feed

¹ The *Uttararamacharita*, the best of Bhavabhūti's plays "reaches no higher level as a drama" than the other two. He has made no serious effort to produce effective unity of events covering twelve years. The characterization is similarly ineffective. Lengthy descriptions and long compounds injure the dramatic effect. "As a poem the merits of the *Uttararamacharita* are patent and undeniable." The author himself proclaims as his own merits "richness and elevation of expression." There are also 'depth of thought and grandeur.' But Bhavabhūti was not content with simplicity, but is often too fond of elaborate and overloaded descriptions.

on the blood and flesh of the dead on the battle-field. They have been summoned thither for Ghatotkacha, son of Hidimbā by Bhīma, is dead and Hidimbā has bidden them attend Bhīma in his revenge on the Kuru host. They see Droṇa's death at the hands of Dhrishṭadyumna, when he lets fall his arms, deceived by the lie of his son's death. They retire when Aśvathāman advances filled with grief for his father's treacherous death. His uncle Kṛpā consoles him, and bids him ask Duryodhana for the command in the battle. It is refused and given to Karna who has poisoned Duryodhana's mind by falsely repeating that Droṇa had fought only to win the imperial authority for his son and sacrificed his life in disappointment. Aśvathāman quarrels with Karna and a duel is barely prevented. Aśvathāman accuses Duryodhana of partiality, and will fight no more. In Act IV Duryodhana is shown wounded. Recovering he learns of Duṣśāsana's death and a Kuru disaster. A messenger from Karna reports the death of Karna's son and gives an appeal for aid written in Karna's blood. Duryodhana makes ready for battle. His aged parents, Dhṛitarashṭra and Gāndhārī, with Sañjaya advise him to make peace. Act V shows Duryodhana refusing the advice of his parents and Sañjaya and is ready to go to the battle-field on hearing of Karna's death, unaided. Arjuna and Bhīma appear. Bhīma insists on their saluting with insults their aged uncle; Duryodhana reproves them, but Arjuna insists that it is just retribution for the acquiescence of the aged king in Draupadī's ill treatment. Duryodhana defies Bhīma, who would fight, but Arjuna forbids. Yudhisṭhira's messenger take them away. Aśvathāman arrives and seeks reconciliation with Duryodhana, but receiving a cold reception withdraws, followed by Sañjaya bidden by Dhṛitarashṭra to appease him. In Act VI a report comes to Yudhisṭhira and Draupadī of Duryodhana's death at Bhīma's hands. But a Chārvāka brings a false report that Bhīma and Arjuna are dead. Yudhisṭhira and Draupadī resolve on death and the Rākshasa, Chārvāka, departs in glee. When they are about to die a noise is heard. Yudhisṭhira deeming it Duryodhana rushes to arms, while Draupadī runs away. She is, however, caught by her hair by Bhīma, whom Yudhisṭhira seizes. The error is discovered, and Draupadī binds up at last her

locks (veni). Nakula has slain the Chārvāka. Arjuna and Vasudeva arrive, and all is well.¹

The Mudrarākshasa of Viśakhadatta, son of Maharāja Bhāskaradatta or the minister Prithu, and the grandson of the feudatory Vāṭṣavaradatta, is of uncertain date which, however, comes after the Veṇṣaśmāra of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa.

In Act I Chāpakya in a monologue expresses his detestation of the Nandas and determination to secure Rākshasa as minister for Chandragupta. His spy, Nipunaka, enters and reports that he has found a Jain Jivasiddhi hostile to Chandragupta, who is in reality Chāpakya's agent. The scribe Śakaṭadāsa is a real enemy. The jeweller Chandanaḍasa, who has sheltered Rākshasa's wife and child, is also an enemy. The signet ring of Rākshasa dropped by his wife at the doors in pulling in her child gives a chance to Chāpakya who writes a letter, has it copied in good faith by Śakaṭadāsa and sealed with Rākshasa's seal. Śakaṭadāsa is then arrested but suddenly rescued by Siddhārthaka, another spy of the minister, who flees to Rākshasa. Jivasiddhi is banished and Chandanaḍasa is flung into prison to await death for having harboured Rākshasa's family which has escaped. Chāpakya then receives the news calmly that Bhigurāyana and others of the court who are his emissaries have also fled. Act V shows Rākshasa's counter plot. Virādhaka in a serpent-charmer's disguise reports that the scheme to murder Chandragupta as passed under a coronation arch has failed, Vairouhaka, uncle of Malayaketu, who had been crowned as the lord of half the realm being slain in lieu of Chandragupta. Abhayadatta, who offered him poison has been forced to drink the draught. Pramodaka, the chamberlain, who was bribed is dead in misery. The bold spirits who were issued from a subterranean

¹ "The play is on the whole undramatic, for the action is choked by narrative, and the vast abundance of detail served up in this form confuses and destroys interest, yet the characterization is good. On the other hand, we find in Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa many of the defects of Bhavabhūti, in special the fondness for long compounds both in Prakrit and Sanskrit prose and the same straining after effect" in the lengthy descriptions. Nonetheless the author has the merit, shared by Viśakhadatta in the Mudrarākshasa, of fire and energy in dialogues,

passage into the king's bed chamber have been detected and burnt as ants in their hiding place. Jivasiddhi is banished and Śakaṭadāsa and Chandandāsa have been condemned to the stake. But Śakaṭadāsa returns with Siddhārthaka who restores his seal to Rākshasa saying that he picked it up at Chandanādāsa's house and begs to remain in his train. Virādhaka appears and reports that Chandragupta is tired of Chāṇakya. At this moment Rākshasa is asked to buy some precious jewels and he hastily bids Śakaṭadāsa see to the price, little knowing that they are sent by Chāṇakya to entrap him. Act III displays that the minister has forbidden all feasting without telling the king. The monarch upbraids him; the minister taunts him with ingratitude and insolence, resigns office and leaves. In Act IV Bhāgurāyaṇa explains to Malayaketu that he and his followers who have taken the monarch's side desire to deal direct with him, because Rākshasa is no real foe of Chandragupta and if Chāṇakya were out of the way Rākshasa himself will ally with Chandragupta. Malayaketu is perplexed and his doubt increases when he overhears a conversation between Rākshasa and a courtier who reports the split between Chandragupta and Chāṇakya. Rākshasa appears and explains that Chandragupta is now in the palms of his hands which may mean alliance with Chandragupta. Malayaketu feels half-hearted for an advance for he is suspicious of Rākshasa. Rākshasa, however, consults Jivasiddhi about the suitable time about an advance but receives much astrological lore presaging a disaster. In Act V Jivasiddhi approaches Bhāgurāyaṇa who grants permit to leave the camp. Bhāgurāyaṇa tells that he fears Rākshasa who seeks to slay him, although Rākshasa formerly used him to poison Parvateśa. Malayaketu overhears this and is wild with rage, because he deemed his father slain by Chāṇakya. With difficulty Bhāgurāyaṇa persuades Malayaketu to wait to punish Rākshasa if he proves guilty. Siddhārthaka gives false evidence against Rākshasa and tells that he was to bear from Rākshasa to Chandragupta the sealed letter written by Śakaṭadāsa, a jewel given by Malayaketu to Rākshasa who in his turn gave it with his sealmark to Siddhārthaka to rescue Śakaṭadāsa, and a verbal message stating the terms demanded by the allied kings for their treachery against Malayaketu and the demand of Rākshasa himself for the removal

of Chāṇakya. Malayaketu confronts Rākshasa who admits that he has assigned the allied kings to guard the king's person which Malayaketu interprets as a device to facilitate their treachery. Rākshasa can deny the message but the seal and writing are genuine. Besides Rākshasa wears a fine jewel purchased from Chāṇakya's spy, which belonged to the king's father; Malayaketu considers this as the price of Rākshasa's treachery. Rākshasa is bewildered, Malayaketu is incensed and befooled; he gives orders to bury alive the allied kings who craved territory as their reward and trample them under elephants. In this confusion Rākshasa slips away to rescue his friend Chandanadāsa. Act VI shows Rākshasa in the capital deploring the failure of all his ends, and the fate of his friend. A spy of Chandragupta approaches him and passes himself off as one seeking death for Chandanadāsa's fate on which Chandragupta's mind is relentlessly set. He warns Rākshasa not to attempt a rescue of Chandanadāsa because the executioners may slay him quicker in that case. Rākshasa sees that nothing save self-sacrifice is left for him. Act VII shows Chandandāsa being led to death, his wife and child beside him. The wife is determined to die also, but Rākshasa intervenes, Chāṇakya and Chandragupta come on the scene. Rākshasa decides to accept the office of minister pressed on him by both. Thus he can save the life of Chandanadāsa and his friends. Malayaketu's massacre of the allied kings has broken the host into fragments and apparent rebels have captured him and his court. As minister of Chandragupta Rākshasa is permitted to free Malayaketu and restore his lands, Chandanadāsa is rewarded, and a general amnesty approved.¹

The Rāmābhyudaya mentioned as a drama by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhanvaloka*, and *Dhanika* and

¹ "The interest in the action never flags. The characters of Chāṇakya and Rākshasa are excellent foils. Each is in his own way admirable. The minor figures are all interesting. The kings Chandragupta and Malayaketu represent the contrast of ripe intelligence with youthful ardour. Viśakhadatta's diction is admirable, forcible and direct, the martial character of the drama reflects itself in the clearness and rapidity of his style. As an artist he uses images, metaphors and similies with tasteful moderation. He is unique among later dramatists in writing a real drama, not composing sets of elegant extracts." This is a high and well deserved praise from Professor Keith.

Viśvanātha has not yet been found. It is ascribed to Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja who is mentioned by Kalhana and who has patronized Bhavabhūti and Vakpati. Many Nātakas, Nāṭikas, and Prakaraṇas wherefrom quotations have been made in anthologies, are ascribed to Śivasvāmin, who, according to Kalhana, lived under Avantivarman of Kashmir (955-983). These plays are entirely lost. The Tapasa-Vatsarāja-*charita* of Anangaharsha Mahārāja, son of Narendra Vardhana, is dated after the Ratnāvali of Harsha. The author was known to Ānandavardhana and Abbinavagupta. The story deals with the well-known theme of Vatsarāja. The Uttara-Rāghava of Māyurāja is known only by reference.

The Parvatī-parīṇaya, once ascribed to Bāṇa, is now allotted to Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (1400). The Mallikāmaruṭa, wrongly ascribed to Dandin, is the work of one Uddandin (17th century). The Chhalitā-Rāma is referred to by Dhanika in his commentary on Daśarūpa. Its author, date, and full story are not known. The Pāṇḍavānanda is similarly mentioned by Dhanika, but nothing more is known about it. The Taraṅgadatta is mentioned by Dhanika. Its author and date are unknown. It is a Prakaraṇa of the variety where the heroine is a courtesan. The Pushpadūshita or Pushpa-bhūshita as designated in the Śāhitya-darpaṇa is similarly mentioned by Dhanika. Its author and date are not known. It is a Prakaraṇa of the variety in which the heroine is the married wife of the hero and is, therefore, a lady of good family. The Samudramanṭhana is mentioned in the Daśarūpa as a drama of the type known as Samavakāra. The author, date, and particulars are unknown. The Anargha-Rāghava, a Nāṭaka in seven acts, is ascribed to Murāri, son of Śrīvardhamānaka and Tantumatī. His date is uncertain but must be later than Bhavabhūti from whose Uttararāmacharita he cites. Besides the Kāśmīrian poet Ratnākara (middle of ninth century A. D.) mentions Murāri in his Haraviṇaya. In Act I while Daśaratha is engaged in conversation with Vāmadeva the sage Viśvāmitra arrives to take Rāma and Lakṣmāṇa to subdue the Rākṣhasas who have been troubling his hermitage. The king reluctantly agrees and the party departs and Daśaratha retires and mourns the departure of his sons. A cry behind the scene announces the approach of the

demoness Tāḍakā. Rāma hesitates to slay a female but finally departs for the duty. He returns after slaying the demoness and describes the rising of the moon. Viśvāmitra then suggests a visit to Janaka and Mithilā after description of both. Janaka's daughter Sītā is now ripe for marriage and Rāvaṇa seeks her hand. Janaka accompanied by Śatānanda receives Rāma, but hesitates to put him to the severe test involved in bending Śiva's bow. Rāvaṇa's envoy arrives to demand Sītā's hand, but indignantly declines the request that his master should bend the bow. Rāma is allowed to make the trial. Report comes that Rāma has wonderfully broken the bow. He is promised Sītā's hand and other sons of Daśaratha also are awarded consorts. Rāvaṇa's minister Malyavānt laments the failure of his scheme to win Sītā. Śūrpaṇakhā arrives from Videha and reports the union of Rāma and Sītā. Śūrpaṇakhā assumes the disguise of Mantharā in order to secure the banishment of Rāma and Sītā to the forest, wherefrom Sītā may be stolen. Daśaratha resolves to transfer his kingdom to Rāma. But Mantharā bears a fatal message from Kaikeyi, bidding Daśaratha grant the two boons of the banishment of Rāma and the coronation of Bharata. In Act V a conversation between Jāmbavant and an ascetic Śravaṇa report the advent and doings of Rāma in the forest. Śravaṇa goes to Sugrīva to bespeak a kindly welcome for wayfarers. Jāmbavant overhears a dialogue between Rāvaṇa, disguised as a juggler, and Lakshmaṇa. The vulture Jaṭāyu then reports the appearance of Rāvaṇa Mārīcha in the forest. Jāmbavant goes to warn Sugrīva of the danger, while Jaṭāyu sees Sītā being carried away by Rāvaṇa and pursues him. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa then appear wandering in grief in vain search. They hear a cry and see the friendly chief, Guha, being assailed by the headless Kavandha. Lakshmaṇa rescues him, but in doing so, knocks off the tree the skeleton of Dundubhi. This enrages Valin who challenges Rāma to battle. Lakshmaṇa and Guha describe the fight and death of Valin. Voices from behind the scenes report the coronation of Sugrīva and his determination to aid Rāma in the recovery of Sītā. Voices from behind announce the departure for battle and death of Kumbhakarna and Meghanada. Then Rāvaṇa goes for the battle. The struggle is described by two Vidyādharā.

Act VII shows the departure from Lāṅkā by Kuber's car of Rāma, Śītā, Lakshmaṇa, Vibhishana, and Sugriva. They travel by the celestial regions and go to Ayodhyā, where the priest Vashishṭha waits with Rāma's brothers to crown him king.

The Balarāmayāṇa, the Bālabhārata, the Viddha-śāla-bhañjika, and the Karpūra-maṇjari are ascribed to Rāja-Śekhara. The Balarāmayāṇa is a mahānāṭaka as it has ten acts. The story is the old one, and shows the heroic deeds of Rāma's early life. The act closes with the consecration of Rāma to the throne of Ayodhyā.

The Bālabhārata is an unfinished Mahānāṭaka in ten acts. It relates the old story of the Mahābhārata. It covers the marriage of Draupadī and the gambling scene with the ill-treatment of Draupadī at the court of the Kānavas. It was written for Mahipala of Kanauj. It is equally unsuccessful as a play. It has also no poetic merits.

The Karpūramaṇjari is a Nāṭikā in four acts; but it is known as a Saṭṭaka because it is in Prakrit, none of the characters speaking Sanskrit. It is also an old story; it deals with the king Chaṇḍapāla of Kanauj and his beloved Karpūramaṇjari, the Kuntala princess, who is a cousin of the queen. A magician displays the damsel to the king and queen. The apparition tells her tale, and the queen takes her as an attendant. The king and the maiden fall at once in love. In a letter the maiden avows her passion. The queen has found out the love and has confined the maiden, while the king has made a subterranean passage giving access to her prison. In Act III the princess and the king enjoy a flirtation in the garden, when the queen discovers them. Act IV shows that the end of the passage opening on the garden has been blocked, but another passage has been made to the sanctuary of Chāmuṇḍā, the entrance being concealed behind the statue. Thus the prisoner can play a game of hide-and-seek with the queen and this enables her to carry out a clever ruse invented by the magician to secure the queen's blessing for the wedding. The queen is induced to demand that the king shall marry a princess of Lāṭā who will secure him imperial rank. She is still at her home, but the magician will fetch her to the palace. The wedding goes on merrily,

but the princess is no other than Karpūramanjari. The queen has unwittingly accomplished the lovers' desire.¹

The same motif is repeated in the *Viddha-śāla bhaṣjika*. It is a *Nāṭika* in four acts. The *Lāṭa* king *Chandravarman* sends to the court of his overlord *Vidyādharamalla* his daughter *Mṛigāṅkavati* in the guise of his son and heir. *Vidyādharamalla* recounts a dream in which a beautiful maid had cast a collar of pearls round his neck. He is haunted by her. He finds her in sculptured form (*śalabhaṣjika*) in the picture gallery. He has a further glimpse of her in the disguised *Lāṭa* prince. The queen proposes to marry *Kuvalayamālā* of *Kuntala* to the pretended boy. Her foster sister, *Mekhala*, has promised *Vidūshaka* a lady *Amabaramālā* (air garland). To his disgust she turns out a mere slave. The king calms him. Together they watch in hiding *Mṛigāṅkavati* playing in the garden and hear her reading a letter of love. Act IV shows a plot of the queen to punish the king. She induces him to marry the sister of the pretended boy, meaning that he should find that he has married a boy. The marriage is completed. News comes from *Chandravarman* that a son is born. The queen is, therefore, requested to dispose in marriage of his daughter, who may resume her sex. The queen is thus tricked and deceived. With dignity she bestows on her husband both *Mṛigāṅkavati* and *Kuvalayamālā*. News is brought that the last rebels are subdued and the king's suzerainty is recognized everywhere.²

The *Svapna-daśanana* and four other unknown dramas are ascribed by *Rajasekhara* in a verse to *Bhimaṭa* who is described as *Kalinjarapati* and may, therefore, be connected with the *Chandella* king *Harsha*, a contemporary of *Mahipāla* (914) of *Kanyakubja* and

¹ This play was produced at the request of *Rajasekhara*'s wife. The story of the *Vatsa* king and *Vasavadatta* is borrowed and spoiled. "The author is devoid of power to create character. The heroine is without merit. The *Vidūshaka* is tedious. The intrigue is poorly managed. The confusion of exits and entrances is difficult to follow and unsuitable for acting."

² The borrowed story of the *Karpūramanjari* and *Viddha-śāla-bhaṣjika* is the same and similarly spoiled the original story of *Vatsa* king and *Vasavadatta*. In both these dramas the power of creating a character is lacking. "The taste of giving two brides to the king at once is deplorable."

the patron of Rajaśekhara. Nothing more is known about the author and his dramas.

The *Naishadhaṇanda* and the *Chandakaśika* are ascribed to Khemiśvara or Kshemendra (not the Kashmirian poet of that name) who asserts his patron Mahipāla (914) of Kānyakubja's victory over the Karnaṭas; probably referring to the contest against the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III who also claims victory over Mahodaya or Kānyakubja. The *Naishadhaṇanda* is a Nāṭaka in seven acts. It deals with the epic story of Nala and Damayanti as given in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Chandakaśika* enacts the well known story of the king Harishchandra in seven acts. It opens with the scene where Harish Chandra rebukes the Kāśika Viśvāmitra for the apparent sacrifice of a damsel on the fire. As the sage was merely bringing the sciences under control became irritated (*chanda*) at the interruption by the king and cursed him. The king secures the sage's pardon at a heavy cost, the surrender of the earth and a thousand gold pieces. To secure the money the king sells his wife and child to a Brahman at Kāśi and himself to a dead-body burner as a cemetery keeper there. One day his wife brings the dead body of their child, but it turns to be a trial of his character. His son recovers from the effect of a snake-bite. His wife is rescued. The sage being highly pleased with the unique observance of truth (*satya*) returns the kingdom of whole earth to the king, who, however, transfers it to his son.¹

In addition to these dramas of the classical reputation there are numerous plays of lesser importance and of later age which are briefly noticed below under the nine or ten groups.

Of the Nāṭaka type several later dramas and fragmentary ones exist. The *Prasanna-Raghava* in seven acts is ascribed to the logician Jayadeva (1200), son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā, of Kundina in Berar. The story of the *Ramayana* is repeated here.

The *Adbhuta-darpana* in ten acts is ascribed to Mahādeva. It bears influence of Jayadeva. "Its ten acts cover only the period from Aṅgada's mission to

¹ The plot is as poor as the execution of the piece.

Ravana to the coronation of Rāma. It introduces the Vidūshaka contrary to the rule in Rāma drama.

There are several dramas dealing with the Kṛishṇa legend. The Pradumnābhyudaya is ascribed to the Kerala prince Ravivarman (1266). The Vidagdha-mādhava in seven acts and the Lalita-mādhava in ten acts are ascribed to Rūpagosvamin (1532), the minister of Husain Shah. The theme of these dramas is the love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The author supports here the movement of Chaitanya of Navadvīpa.

The Kamsavadha in seven acts is based on Bhāsa's Balacharita as well as other plays. It was written by Śeṣha Kṛishṇa for Todar Mall, the minister of Akbar. The Rukmini-pariṇaya was written by Rāma Varman of Travancore (1735-1787). The Smdāma-charita was written by Sāmarāja Dikshita (1681) depicting Kṛishṇa's generosity to a poor friend. The Chitrabhārata of Kshemendra of Kashmir (middle of eleventh century) is yet untraced. The Subhadrā-Dhyanājaya and Tapati-Samvaraṇa (about eleventh century) are ascribed to the Kerala prince Kula-śekhara Varman.

The Partha-parākrama, a Vyāyoga, is ascribed to Prahlādana-deva, brother of Dhārāvārsha, king of Chandravati (about 1200). The Harakeli-nāṭaka is ascribed to the Chamana king Viśaladeva Vighraharāja (1163). The Pārvaṭi-pariṇaya, once thought of Bāṇa, belongs to Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (about 1400). The Hara-gauri-vivāha is ascribed to Jagaj-īyotir-malla of Nepal (1617-1638). 'It is rather an opera than a play'. In it the vernacular verses take the place of Prakṛits. The Bhairavānanda is ascribed to the Nepalese poet Maṇika (end of fourteenth century). The Bhartṛihari-nirveda of Harihara (fifteenth century) represents the poet Bhartṛihari as desolated by his wife's death and through despair on a false rumour of his own death. But being consoled by a Yogin (ascetic) he attains indifference (nirveda). And when his wife is recalled to life neither she nor their child has any attraction for him. The Lalita-Vighraharāja-nāṭaka is ascribed to Somadeva who wrote (about twelfth century) in honour of the Chāhāmana king, Viśaladeva Vighraharāja. It is preserved only in part in an inscription. The Pratāpa-rudra-kalyāṇa was written by Vidyānātha (about 1300) to celebrate his patron, a king of Warangal. The Hammira-mada-mardana was written by Jaya-sinha

Suri (between 1219 and 1229). The author was a priest of the temple of Muni-sukrata at Broach. He claims that it includes all nine sentiments. It was, however, written to celebrate Jayantasinha, son of Vastupāla, brother of Tejaśpāla, minister of Vigrahadeva of Gujarat. The contents of the *Rajarāja-nāṭaka* are not known. It is stated, however, that the play was annually performed in a temple of Śiva by order of the Chola king *Rajarāja I* of Tanjore (eleventh century). The *Gaṅgādāsa-pratapa-vilāsa* of *Gaṅgādhara* celebrates the struggle of a Champanir prince against Muhammad II of Gujarat (1443-1452). The *Vasantika-svapna* is an adaptation by R. Krishnamachari (in 1892) from the Shakespear's *Midsummer Night's dream*.

Of the allegorical *Nāṭakas* the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* of *Kṛishṇa Mīśra* (1042) is a play in six acts. It is devoted to the defence of the Advaita form of the Viśiṣṭa doctrine, which is a combination of Vedānta (Jāna) with Vaiṣṇavism (bhakti). In act I Love in conversation with Desire that the Supreme reality being united with Illusion, has a son spirit who again have two children, Discrimination (viveka) and Confusion (moha). The offspring of the latter gained strength and menaced the former and his offspring. The former, however, is sure to conquer but the danger is the prophecy that there will arise knowledge (prabodha) and Science (Vidyā) from the union of Discrimination (viveka) and Theology (Upanishad); but these two are long since parted and their union seems unlikely. The two flee while Discrimination (viveka) talks with one of his wives Reason (matī). She favours and brings about his reunion with Theology (Upanishad). Act II shows Confusion in fear of overthrow hastens by use of Falsity (dambha) to Benares as the key of the world. Egoism, grandfather of Falsity, visits Benares and discovers Falsity. Confusion enters triumphantly his new Capital and the Materialist Chārvāka supports him. But Duty rises in revolt. Theology wants reunion with Discrimination. Confusion sends Piety, daughter of Faith (śraddhā) to prison and orders Heresy (mithya-dṛiṣṭi) to separate Theology and Faith. Act III shows Piety in sad plight having lost her mother Faith and about to commit suicide from which Pity dissuades her. She searches in vain for her mother Faith in Digambara Jainism, Buddhism and Soma-ism.

(Brahmanical sacrifice); each appears with a wife Faith, but she cannot recognize her mother in these distorted forms. Buddhism and Jainism quarrel. Soma-ism enters and makes them drunk with alcohol and pleasure, and takes them in search of Piety. Act IV shows Faith and Duty escaping being devoured by a demoness through trust in Vishnu. She induces Discrimination to muster his leaders, Contemplation, Patience and Contentment, to go to Benares and to start the battle. In Act V the battle is over: Confusion and his offspring are dead. Spirit, however, mourns the loss of Confusion and Activity. The Vedānta doctrine of Vyasa appears, disabuses his mind of error, and resolves to settle down as a hermit with one wife, Inactivity. Act VI shows the Ancestor of all Being still under the influence of Confusion, because his Companion Illusion supports the Spirits whom Confusions dispatched before his death to confuse him. But his friend Reasoning shows him his error and he drives them away. Peace of heart reunites Theology and Discrimination. She tells of her mishaps with Cult and Exegesis, Nyāya and Sāṃkhya, and reveals to Being that he is the Supreme Lord. He feels doubtful but his difficulty is cleared away by Judgment (Science), the immediate supernatural child of the re-union of the spouses. Trust (Bhakti) in Vishnu appears to applaud the result.¹

The *Maharaja-parajaya* in five acts, an imitation allegorical play, is attributed to Yaśaḥpala, the son of minister Dhanadeva and Rukmiṇī, of Moḍha Bania caste, who served, probably as governor to the king Abhayapāla (1229-1232). It describes the conversion of the Chalukya king of Gujarat, Kumārapāla, to Jainism at the efforts of Hemachandra. Hemachandra and Vidūshaka in the play are personifications of good and evil qualities.

¹ It is indeed very clever of Krishnamisra to combine the plot based on the strife of races in the Mahabharata and the love story of a Nāṭika. There is also the ingenuity of fitting in the Vedānta doctrine of the Absolute the devotion of the Vaiṣṇava creed. There is also some comedy in the exchange of views of Egoism and Falacy and fun in the scenes between Buddhism, Jainism and Soma-ism. His Sanskrit stanzas are effective and stately in *Sardula Vikriḍita* and *Vasantatilaka* is effectively used in his rhymed Prakrit stanzas. The play, however, has no dramatic force and can hardly be performed successfully.

Of the same type is the *Saṃkalpa-sūryodaya* of Venkaṭanātha of the fourteenth century which is "excessively dreary." More so is the *Chaitanya-Chandrodaya* of Kavikarṇapura. It is an account of Chaitanya's success, which wholly fails to convey any suggestion of his spiritual power. Similarly the Śiva allegory is dramatized in the two Śaiva dramas, the *Vidyā-pariṇayana* which was written at the end of the seventeenth century, and the *Jivānandana* which was written in the eighteenth century. As plays they have no merits.

The *Karṇasundarī*, a *Nāṭikā* (small drama) of Bilhana (1080-1090), was written to celebrate the wedding in advanced age of Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla of Anhilvāḍ (1064-1094) with Miyanalladevi, daughter of the Karṇāṭa king Jayakeśin. The story is a jumble of reminiscences of Kālidāsa, Harsha and Rājasekhara. The Chalukya king is to marry *Karṇasundarī*, daughter of the Vidyadhara king. The minister brings her into the harem. The king first sees her in a dream, then in a picture. He falls in love, and the queen is jealous; she breaks into on their meeting, and at once assumes *Karṇasundarī*'s guise to present herself to the king. Next she tries to marry the king to a boy in *Karṇasundarī*'s clothes, but the minister adroitly substitutes the real one. The usual tidings of triumph abroad ends the play.

The *Vijayaśrī*, otherwise known as *Pārijātamañjarī*, is attributed to Mada-Bala-sarasvatī, the preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman of Dhārā (thirteenth century). Two acts are preserved on a stone at Dhārā. 'A garland falls on the breast of Arjunavarman after his victory over the Chalukya king, Bhimadeva II, and becomes a maiden. She is the daughter of the Chalukya. The usual sequence of events leads to her wedlock with the king.

The *Vṛisha-bhānuja* of Mathuradāsa (of a later date) deals with the love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Rādhā is jealous of a portrait which Kṛishṇa has. It, however, turns out to be one of herself and the play ends happily. The *Siva-nārāyaṇa-bhañja-mahodaya* of Narasimha is a philosophic play in honour of a prince of Keonjhor.

No later writer attempted to imitate the masterpiece, *Mrichhakatīkā*. But there is a slavish imitation of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava*. The *Mallikā-*

maruta, in five acts, is ascribed to one Uddandin or Uddandanatha (not the famous Dandin), a court poet of a Zemindar of Calicut (Kukkuṭakroda) in the seventeenth century. A magician Mandakini is eager to arrange a marriage between Mallikā, daughter of the minister of a Vidyadhara king, and Maruta, son of the minister of the Kuntala king. They meet and fall in love but match is disturbed as the Ceylon king wants to marry Mallikā. Maruta's friend Kalakanṭha also loves Ramayantikā. The usual temple scene follows; elephants frighten the two maidens and rescues take place. An emissary of the Ceylon king falsely report Kalakanṭha's death, Maruta attempts suicide but is prevented by his friend's appearance. Mallikā is stolen by a Rākshasa, Maruta rescues her, but he is himself stolen and finally overcomes the demon. The king of Ceylon is deceived in marriage; Maruta and Mallikā elope, and Kalakanṭha and Ramayantikā follow their example. The second abduction of Mallikā takes place, the search for her follows, and at last she is discovered. All are united and the king and parents accord their sanction.

The Kaumudi-mitrānanda in ten acts is ascribed to the Jain writer Rāmachandra, the pupil of Hemachandra (between 1173 and 1176). It is in the form of a modern pantomime being the play of a number of Katha incidents and whole undramatic.

The Prabuddha-rauhineya, in six acts, was written by Jain Rāmaprabhadrā Muni, pupil of Jayaprabhā Sūri (about 1169) as referred to in Hemachandra's Yogasāstra for performance in the temple of Tirthaṅkara Rishaba on the occasion of a procession festival. A bandit, Rauhinēya, steals away a married woman Madanavati and commits other robberies but being liberated by penitence is ultimately reformed. The Mudrita-kumudachandra of Yaśas-chandra, describes the controversy in 1124 A.D. between the Śvetāmbara Jain teacher Deva Sūri, and the Digambara Kumuda Chandra. The title of play is derived from the defeat of Kumuda Chandra.

Of the Prahāsanas, the Latakamaleka or Latākā malikā was written by Śaṅkhaadhara Kavirāja under Govinda Chandra of Kanauj in the twelfth century. Lovers of Madanamañjarī seek the aid of the go-between Danturā. The comic is supplied by the dentist Jantuketu who

is called to extract a fishbone from the throat of Madanamañjarī. His antics caused laughter by which the bone is dislodged. The bargaining of the lovers is satirized. The marriage between the go-between herself and a Digambara also causes mirth and laughter.

The Dhūrta-samāgama is ascribed to Jyotirīśvara Kavi-śekhara, grandson of Dhureśvara who wrote under the Vijayanagara king Narasiṃha (1487-1507) or son of Dhira Siṃha who flourished under Harisiṃha Simraon. The play relates the contest of the religious mendicant Viśva-nagara (lover of everybody) and his pupil Durā-chāra (bad conduct) over the beautiful Anaḡasenā. On her insistence the matter is referred to the arbitration of the Brahman Asaj-jāti (impure race) who decides to impound the damsel to himself, despite the attempt of Vidūshaka to get her for his own use. The barber Mūlanāśaka (root-destroyer) turns up to demand payment of a debt from Anaḡasenā. She refers him to Asaj-jāti who pays him with his pupil's purse. The pupil demands the barber's care. The latter ties him up. The Vidūshaka comes and rescues him.

The Hāsyārṇava (ocean of laughter) of Jogadīśvara of unknown date and identity is a popular farce. The king Anayasindhu (ocean misrule) finds that all goes ill in his realm: wives are chaste, husbands constant, the good respected, and Brahmans do not make shoes. He goes, at the advice of his minister, to the house of a go-between, Bandhurā, to study the character of his people, and is presented with her daughter Mṛgāṅkalekhā. The court chaplain with his pupil comes and both are attracted to the damsel. After seeing the arrival and performance of a comic doctor whose medicine is worse than the illness of Bandhurā, a barber, a police, and an astrologer, the king disappears. Then the contest to secure the damsel takes place between the chaplain and his pupil, and another pair of teacher and pupil. Finally the two older disown the damsel and the boys content themselves with Bandhurā, who is delighted with the turn of events. The celebration of these double marriages is left to another holy man, Mahanindaka, who also desires to share Bandhurā.

The Kautuka-sarvasva of unknown date was written by Gopinātha Chakravartī for the autumn Durgapūjā in Bengal. The licentious king, Kalivatsala,

addicted to every kind of vice illtreats the virtuous Brahman Satyaśraya. Everything is wrong in the state: people are oppressive and skilled in falsehood, there is contempt for the pious, and the general is coward. Rishis are shown practising immoralities which they recount in the Purāṇas. The king proclaims free love but is found involved in a dispute over a courtesan. He is summoned back to the queen. The courtesan is annoyed and everybody hastens to console her. And the king, obligingly to please her, banishes all Brahmans from the realm.

The Dhūrta-nartaka of Sāmarāja Dikshita belongs to the seventeenth century. A Śaiva ascetic, Mureśvara, entrusts to his pupils on having to go away a dancing girl to whom he was devoted. When they fail to secure the damsel for themselves they denounce him to the king, Pāpāchāra, who being amused allows the saint to keep the damsel.

The Kautuka-ratnākara probably earlier than the Dhūrta-nartaka of the seventeenth century was written by a chaplain of Lakshmaṇa Māṇikyadeva of Bhulūya. The play centres round the stealing of the queen despite the police guard and the adventures of the courtesan who is to take the queen's place at the spring festival.

The Hāsyachūdāmaṇi of Vatsarāja (about 1163-1203) in one act shows as hero, Jāṇa-rāsi, an Āchārya of the Bhāgavata, exhibiting by various acts of tricks and fooleries his supernatural power in tracing lost articles and buried treasures. His disrespectful pupil delights in interpreting literally his remarks.

The Bhāṇa type of plays is also comical like the Prahāsana type. Bhāṇas are, however, mostly in comic monologues. Both are equally coarse. Both exhibit their command of Sanskrit vocabulary.

The Śrīngāra-bhūṣhaṇa is ascribed to Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (about 1500). The Chief Viṭa, Vitasāśekhara, comes to see the courtesan Anaṅgamañjuri on the evening of the spring festival. He goes to the street of the courtesan and describes to himself the courtesan, ram-fights, cock-fights, boxing, a quarrel between two rivals, the different stages of the day, and the pleasures of the festival. The Śrīngāra-tilaka or Ayyabhāṇa was written on the same lines by Rāmabhadra Dikshita to rival the Vasanta-tilaka or

Ammabhāṇa of Vaiṣṇava Varadāchārya or Ammad Achārya. It was performed at the festival of the marriage of the goddess Minākṣhi of the Madura temple. In it the hero Bhujāṅga-śekhara on the departure of his beloved courtesan Hemāṅgi to her husband describes to himself imaginary snake-charmers, magic shows of gods, their mountains and so forth. Finally he succeeds in rejoining Hemāṅgi. The Śāradatilaka of Śaṅkara shows similar descriptions in the imaginary city of Kolāhalapura (city of uproar) and the satire extends to the Jāgavas or Saivas, and Vaiṣṇavas. In the Śrīgāra-sarvasva of Nalla Kavi (about 1700), the hero Anaṅga-śekhara parts from his beloved courtesan Kaṇaklatā but is finally united by the advent of an elephant which terrifies all others in the street, but is worshipped by the lover as Gaṇeśa, and Śiva's answer to his prayer for help. The Rasasadana by a Yuvarāja of Koṭiliṅga in Kerala shows the hero, a Viṣa, who has promised his friend Mandāraka to look after his beloved courtesan for him. He goes about with her to a temple and then to his house. He wanders out into the street, talks and describes at large. Then he goes to see a lady in a neighbouring town and on his return home finds the lovers united again. The Karpūra-charitra of Vatsarāja (about 1163-1203) shows the gambler, Karpūra, describing in monologue his rivalry, gambling and love. The Mukundānanda of Kāśipati Kavirāja (about thirteenth century) illustrates a combined Prahasana (farce) and Bhāṇa (comic monologue). The hero Bhujāṅga-śekhara recounts his adventures and also alludes to the sports of Kṛishṇa and the cowherdresses.

Of the Vyāyogas the Kirātārjuniya of Vatsarāja (about 1163 to 1203) is based on Bhāravi's great poem of that name. It relates the same story of Arjuna's fight with Śiva in the guise of a hunter and securing the boon from the god. It illustrates the technical character of Vyāyoga. After a Nāndi (invocation) celebrating Śiva's consort, the Sūtradhāra enters, immediately followed by the Sthāpaka who insists on his reciting a further Nāndi of the trident of Śiva.

The Saugandhikaharaṇa of Viśvanātha (about 1316) deals with Bhīma's visit to Kubera's lake to fetch water-lilies for Draupadī, his struggle first with Hanuman and then with the Yakshas, and his final victory. The Pāṇḍavas then meet at Kubera's home

and Draupadi gets the desired flowers. The *Dhanañjaya-vijaya* of Kāñchana Paṇḍita (of unknown date) deals with the prowess of Arjuna in defeating Duryodhana and the Kauravas when they raid the cattle of Virāṭa. Indra and others describe the contest in which Arjuna uses magic weapons. The play ends with the giving to Arjuna's son, Abhimanyu, the hands of Uttarā, daughter of the king Virāṭa. The *Bhīma-vikrama-vyāyoga* of Mokṣāditya exists in a manuscript of 1328. It describes the heroic deeds of Bhīma. The *Nirbhaya-bhīma* of Rāmachandra (later half of twelfth century) similarly shows the fearless deeds of Bhīma.

The *Rukmiṇi-haraṇa* of the *Vatsarāja* (about 1163 to 1203) in four acts illustrates the *Ihāmṛiga* type. The play opens with a dialogue by the *Satradhāra*. After the *Nāndi* the *Sthāpaka* reports that the play was performed at moon-rise during the festival of *Chakrasvamin*. The story is based on the *Mahābhārata* and the play shows Kṛṣṇa depriving king Śiśupāla of Chedi of his promised bride Rukmiṇi. The *Vira-Vijaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra of later date is the second example of this type. The third example is the *Sarva-vinoda Nāṭaka* of Kṛṣṇa Avadhūta *Ghaṭikāśata Mahākavi*.

Of the *Dimas* the *Tripura-daha* of *Vatsarāja* (1163-1203) in four acts illustrates the type. It describes the destruction of the city of *Tripurāsura* by Śiva. The play closes with the homage paid by the gods and the seers alike to Mahēśa who is bashful. Indra pronounces the benediction. The *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* of *Veṅkaṭa-varada* by *Ghaṇaśyāma* is a later one dealing with the conquests of Kṛṣṇa. The *Manmathonmathana* of Rāma belongs to about 1820. Of the *Samavakāra* type the *Samudra-manthana* of *Vatsarāja* (1163-1203) deals with the well known story. In three acts it illustrates the type. Here after the *Nāndi* the *Satradhāra* and the *Sthāpaka* in conversation lead to the appearance of the chief character. The play is based on the legend of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons. Viṣṇu gets Lakṣmi who appears in Act I with her companions, *Lajjā* and *Dhṛiti*, gazing on a picture of her beloved. The unpopularity of the type is proved by the absence of other dramas of this kind.

Aṅkas or *Utsrīṣṭikāṅkas* implies a play within a play and hence so called. The *Unmatta-Raghabha* of

Bhāskara Kavi (about fourteenth century), a contemporary of Sāyana, is "a stupid imitation of Act .IV of the *Vikramorvaśī*". It shows Rāma and Lakshmaṇa pursuing the golden deer; Sītā, by the curse of Durvāsas, is changed into a gazelle herself. Rāma returns and wonders miserably in search of her, but finally gets her by the help of Agastya. The *Kṛishṇa-bhyudaya* of Lokanātha Bhaṭṭa was written for the rain-time procession of Hastigiri Viṣṇu in Kāñchi. The *Śarmishṭhā-Yajāti* of Kṛishṇa-kavi, of modern age, describes the well known story of an old king who borrowed youth from his son in order to further enjoy the life but later got tired of the change.

Saṭṭakas are short plays in Prakrit as illustrated by the *Anandasundari* of Ghanaśyāma, which is a tedious work. The author was a minister of the Maratta Tukkoji. The *Śīṅgāra-mañjari* of the Almora poet Viśveśvara belongs to the eighteenth century.

Illustrations for all the *Uparūpakas* are not available. The *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* of Rupa Gosvāmin is an example of the *Bhāṣika* type. The other example is the *Subhadrā-haraṇa* of Mādhava (about 1610). The play shows the old legend of the elopement of Kṛishṇa's friend Arjuna with Subhadrā. Kṛishṇa meets her by going to her father's house as a beggar.

Chhāyā-nāṭaka or shadow plays, as they exist in few late examples, resemble ordinary dramas. Except the title no other indication of their character is available. The *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaja (about 1243) enacted in favour of the dead king Kumārāpāla at the court of Tribhuvānapāla, a Chalukya king of Anahilapātana. It shows Aṅgada as an ambassador to Rāvaṇa to demand back Sītā. Rāvaṇa endeavours to show that Sītā is in love with him. Aṅgada is not deceived and leaves Rāvaṇa with threats. Finally Rāvaṇa met his doom. The *Subhadrā-pariṇayana* of Vyāsa Śrīrāmadeva (fifteenth century) under the Kālachuri princes of Raypur describes the old story of Arjuna's elopement of Subhadrā. The *Rāmabhyudaya* of the same author deals with the conquest of Lankā, the fire ordeal of Sītā and their return to Ayodhya. The *Pāṇḍavabhyudaya* of the same author describes in two acts Draupadi's birth and marriage. The *Savitri-charita* of Śaṅkaralāla (1882) describes the story of Savitri and Satyavān. The *Haridatta* of unknown author and date tells the story of the *Datavākya* of Bhāsa.

concerning Kṛishṇa's mission to the court of Duryodhana to seek peace on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas.

Mahānāṭakas should ordinarily imply dramas of bigger size. Professor Luders summarizes their main feature by saying that they are "written mainly in verse, with little of prose; the verses being of narrative as opposed to the dramatic type. There is no Prakrit. There is no Viśākhā, but the number of persons appearing is large." These characteristics are found in the Dātāṅgada which has been classified under the Chhāyā-nāṭaka by Professor Keith. This type is, however, preserved in the Hanu-mān-nāṭaka, of which there are two recensions, one in nine or ten acts by Madhusūdana and the other in fourteen acts by Dāmodaramiśra. In Act I after the brief Nāndi, there being no prologue, a narrative follows down to the arrival of Rāma to Mithilā for winning Sitā by breaking the bow of Śiva. It leads up to the scene with Parāśurāma, and Sitā's marriage. Act II describes Sitā's love for Rāma. Act III describes Rāma's departure in chase of Mārīcha in deer shape. Acts IV-VII describe the arrival of Rāma's forces in Lāṅkā for the recovery of Sitā. Act VIII shows Aṅgada's mission to Rāvaṇa. The remaining Acts describe the conflict, conquest and return of Rāma's party to Ayodhyā. This is unfit for stage. This is an example of the purely literary dramas in Sanskrit.

Of the Yātrās or operas the Gitagovinda written in entirely Sanskrit without Prakrit by Jayadeva under the king Lakshmaṇasena (twelfth century) exhibits songs sung by Kṛishṇa, Rādhā and her companion, intermingled with lyric stanzas of the poet, describing their position, or the emotions excited, and addressing prayer to Kṛishṇa. It is a poem capable of a quasi-dramatic play. The subject is the love of Kṛishṇa for Rādhā, the estrangement of the lovers, and their final reconciliation. It reveals a highly developed show of Kṛishṇa religion.

The Gopāla-chandrikā of Rāmakṛishṇa of Gujarat, later than the Mahānāṭaka and the Bhāgavat, is a literary drama almost entirely in Sanskrit. At the opening the actress who asks in Prakrit is told by the Sātradhara that the play should be in Sanskrit. Kṛishṇa receives the worship of his votaries in the vesture of a herdsman. The sports of Kṛishṇa and his comrades, and of Rādhā and her friends, are introduced in Act II. In Act III

Vṛindā representing Lakshmi relates the identity of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā; Kṛishṇa is the highest being and Rādhā is his Śakti (consort). Act IV shows the theft by Kṛishṇa of the clothes of the maidens when they bathe in the Yamunā. He demands that they should come out of water and take the clothes and should not bear any shyness if they are really devoted to him, he being superior to the Vedas, to the asceticism and to the sacrifice. The last Act V describes the Rāsaliḷā. The spirits of the moon and the autumn lament that the maidens are not dancing with Kṛishṇa in Rāsa. Kṛishṇa summons his power, Yogamāyā, to persuade the relations to send the maidens to him. Then he himself goes to them and enchants the girls by playing on his flute. The play is essentially mystic and religious in character and resemble the Gitagovinda.

"The Sanskrit drama may legitimately be regarded as the highest product of Indian poetry, and as summing up in itself the final conception of the literary art achieved by the very self-conscious creators of Indian literature." But like many other achievements of Sanskrit Culture and Hindu Civilization the drama has suffered gradual deterioration from the zenith of its development during the time of Kālidāsa in the fifth century after Christ. This degradation was noticeable especially during the Muslim invasion when a political movement was started to create a distaste and impracticability for everything noble in our civilization. Performance of dramas was naturally limited to King's palace and God's temples in big cities and centres of pilgrimage. Thus the audience comprised the specially privileged ones at the earlier period. In the time of the Bengal Yātrās like the Gitagovinda and operas the audience included the ordinary folks also. But as a result of the foreign invasions the ordinary people became more and more unfamiliar not only with Sanskrit language but even with the Prakrits of dramas. Thus in later period an effort was made in some places to replace the Prakrits by vernaculars of the place to suit the need of the local population. The large number and variety of our dramas, however, indicate the love of the readers and writers for the plays which served as mirror of the whole Hindu society for at least two thousand years. In no other class of literature such a continued and complete picture is available.

DRAMATURGY

The brief summaries of the dramas made from the classical work of Professor A. B. Keith will show two things clearly. First dramas were produced all over the continent of India, from Kashmir in the north to the districts in the extreme south, and from Gujarat in the extreme west to Bengal in the extreme east. Secondly the period during which dramas both for reading and enacting were produced covers nearly two thousand years. The number and variety of dramas, therefore, became so large that several guide books regulating the composition and performance of dramas were necessarily required and produced.

Tradition ascribes the Nāyaveda to Brahmā, which indicates a great antiquity. Pāṇini in B. C. 300 alludes in his grammar to the Nāyasastras compiled by Śilālin and Kṛiṣṣva. Bharata of uncertain date who was the traditional director of plays performed by Asparas in heaven for the delight of the gods has set forth the principles of the drama in his Nāṭyaśāstra. This treatise covers the whole ground connected with the drama. "It deals with the architecture of the theatre, the scenery, and the dress and equipment of the actors; the religious ceremonial to be observed at every representation; the music, the dance, the movements and gestures of the actors, and their mode of delivery; the division of roles; the general characteristics of poetry; the different classes of drama, and the emotions and sentiments which form a vital element in the drama. It appears clearly to be based on the examination of an earlier dramatic literature which has been lost."

The Daśarūpa of Dhanañjaya under king Muṣja of Dhārā (974-995) takes its name from the ten primary forms of drama recognized in the Nāṭyaśāstra. It comprises four books "of wooden verses". In the first book are treated the subject-matter and plot; in the second the hero, the heroine, and other characters and the language of the drama; in the third the prologue and the different kinds of drama; and in the fourth the emotions and sentiments.

The Pratāparudriya named after Pratāpa-Rudra of Warangal (1298 to 1314) by Vidyānātha is "a mediocre compilation from the Daśarūpa and the

Kāvya-prakāśa of Mammaṭa covering the whole field of poetics."

The Ekavali of Vidyadhara under Narasiṃha of Orissa (about 1280-1314) deals with the same subjects in better way. The Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha Kavirāja (before 1383), a general treatise on poetics, contains chapters dealing with drama. That section is based largely on the Daśarūpa and its commentary Avaloka, and introduces a good deal of matter from the Nāṭyaśāstra in the sixth chapter and includes details of the characteristics and ornaments of the drama which are left out in the Daśarūpa. The Rasarnava-Sudhākara of Siṅgha Bhūpāla of a kingdom between the Vindhya and Śrīśaila of about 1330 deals with the same subjects. The Nāṭya-pradīpa of Sundaramiśra composed in 1613 is based on the Daśarūpa and the Sāhitya-darpaṇa.¹

The types of dramas enumerated in these treatises are fairly illustrated by the extant works of which brief summaries have been quoted above. The highest of the ten primary forms is the Nāṭaka (heroic comedy). It is named after the hero or the subject matter. It contains five to ten acts, as well as upto fourteen acts (in Mahānāṭaka). The hero is a king, royal sage, or god in human form. The dominant sentiment is heroic or erotic, but all other sentiments are also illustrated. The Prakaraṇa (bourgeois comedy) may have any subject matter. The hero, a Brahman, a minister or a merchant, fallen on evil days, succeeds in attaining property and love. The heroine is of three types, a lady of good family, a courtesan, or a good lady sharing the honours with a courtesan. The Samavākara is supernatural drama. Each act exhibits one type of cheating, tumultuous action, and love. The heroic sentiment dominates. Bhāsa's Pañcharātra, and the Amṛitamānṭha are the only examples available. The Ihāmṛiga of which no old example is known is so called because in it a maiden as hard to attain as a gazelle (mṛiga) is sought after (iha). The Dīpa is also little known and may be illustrated by the Manmathamānṭha of Rima. The sentiment of fury is predominant. There are four acts. The origin of

¹ Many other treatises on drama are known only by name or exist in manuscripts.

the name is unknown. The Vyāyoga is a military spectacle. It is, in one act, filled with strife and battle. The subject is legendary, the hero is a god, a royal sage or man. Bhāsa illustrates it. The Aṅka or Utsrīṣṭāṅka (isolated act) is a single act piece. Its subject is also legendary. The sentiment is pathetic and the style verbal. Viśvanātha's Śarmishthā-Yayāti seems as the solitary example. The Prahāsana (farce) in one act is of popular origin and vogue. The comic sentiments predominates. Several examples exist as quoted above. The Bhāṇa (monologue) in one act is also of popular character and origin. The actor speaks in the air, repeating answers supposed to be received. Viśvanātha's Līlāmādhukara and the Śārada-tīlaka are good examples. The Vithi (garland) in one act resembles Bhāṇa, but there may be more than one actor. The leading sentiment is erotic. Viśvanātha's Mālavikā is the only possible example.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata does not recognize the eighteen Uparūpakas (minor forms) of Viśvanātha. The Agnipurāṇa also supplies a list of eighteen with some variants of name. Dhanika names seven forms of mimetic dramas including Bhāṇa. The Daśarūpa mentions only Nāṭikā. Nāṭikā in the Nāṭyaśāstra is a suspected interpolation. The age of these divisions are uncertain. The examples are rare and unimportant. The Nāṭikā is the best known. The subject is invented (not legendary). The hero is a gay king. The heroine is introduced in the royal family in an inferior capacity. It is in fact a Nāṭika like Mālavikāgnimitra, Ratnavālī, Priyadarśikā, etc., smaller in size and acts. The Prakaraṇikā is similarly a small Prakāśaṇa. The Saṅgikā is all in Prakrit, otherwise it is like a Nāṭikā. The Troṭaka or Toṭaka (dance or confused speech) is merely a variant of Nāṭika. The rest of the eighteen Uparūpakas are pantomime with song, dance, and music rather than serious dramas. There are no early examples available. The Goshṭha is played by nine or ten men and five or six women as actors. The Hallīśa is a glorified dance. The Nāṭya-rasikā is a ballet and pantomime. The Prasthāna is mimetic dance. The Bhāṇikā and the Kāvya, both one-act pieces, are also mimetic dance. The Rāsaka of the same type includes dialect in its language. The Ullāpya in one to three acts has hero of high rank engaged in battles. The Samlāpaka in one to four acts has

similar hero and battles. The *Durmallikā* in four acts has a hero of low rank. The *Vilasikā* in one act has a *Vidāshaka* and a parasite *Piṭhamarda*; the sentiment being erotic. The *Śilpaka*, a pantomime, has two heroes and twenty-seven most miscellaneous constituents. The *Prekshaya* or *Prekhana* in one act has a hero of low birth, full of combats and hard words. The *Śrigadita* in a single act has a legendary subject, and the hero and heroine of high rank. The *Subhadrāharaya* of *Mādhava* (about 1600) bears this name.

POETICS

Like the dramaturgy a class of literature known as Poetics came into being as a result of the critical study of the various branches of poetical literature. This branch of literature treats mainly of the laws of poetry. These laws deal with prosody and metre, sentiment (*rasa*) and figures of speech (*alankāra*), and qualities (*guṇa*) and defects (*doṣa*). Prosody treats of the laws of versification and the quantity of syllables and accent. Rules on accent, Vedic and classical, are dealt with in the *Phit-sūtra* of *Sāntanava* (later than *Patañjali*, B. C. 150).

Metres are referred to in the *Brahmaṇas* and the sections of the *Sāṅkhyayana Śrauta Sūtra*, *Nidana Sūtra*, *Rik-Pratishakhyā*, and *Kātyāyana's Anukramapī* to the *Rigveda* and the *Yajurveda* specifically deals with metres. The regular text, however, is the *Piṅgala's Chhanda-Sūtra* which deals with the Vedic, classical, and Prakrit metres. The *Śrutabodha* is variously ascribed to *Kālidāsa* and *Vararuchi*; a chapter (xiv) in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* of *Varāhamihira* also refers to the subject. Some reference is made to *Dandin* and *Bhaṃaha* also. *Suvṛittatilaka* is ascribed to *Kṣhemendra*. *Hemachandra* compiled the *Chhandanūśāsana*. *Kedara Bhaṭṭa* wrote *Vṛihatratnākara*, in the 15th century, dealing with 136 metres, and *Gaṅgādāsa* wrote the *Chhandomañjarī*.

The sentiment (*rasa*) is "a condition in the mind of the spectator of a drama as well as the reader or hearer of a poem. This is produced by the emotions (*bhava*) of the characters. Emotions are excited by factors comprising the object like of love or are

hightened by the spring season, etc. The sentiments are subdivided according to the emotions which excite them into eight to ten groups, *viz.* erotic, comic, pathetic, and those of horror, heroism, fear, disgust, wonder, and calm (*śānta*) and affection (*vātsalya*).

The figures of sound (*Śabdālankāra*) and of sense (*Arthālankāra*) were at first not distinguished as classes of figures.

The ten qualities (*guṇa*) comprise the suggested sense (*śleṣha*), clearness (*prasāda*), evenness or ease of comprehension (*samata*), special sense (*samādhi*), sweetness (*mādhurya*), strength of compounds (*ojas*), smoothness in metres and conjunction (*saukumārya*), explicitness of sense (*arthavyakti*), elevation of subject and sentiment (*udara*), and loveliness (*kānti*). The defects consist of absence of complete meaning, incongruity with the context, tautology, ambiguity, violation of syntactical regularity, grammatical errors, break of metrical rules, breach of euphonic rules; and inconsistency of time, place, artistic usage, popular belief, logic and science.

This brief reference to the various aspects of poetic literature will indicate cultural development of the Hindu mind in matter of literary appreciation. Early poetry of standard quality must have grown up independently of these laws but the later literature followed the rules as a matter of discipline. The literary critics, like the legislators of the moral, spiritual and political laws, grew in number and formed themselves into various groups known as the schools of poetics.

Dandin of the seventh century in his *Kāvya-darśa* has developed a regular school of thought after referring to many predecessors whose works are lost. According to him a poem may consist of verse, prose, or both. But the leading element of poetry is *Alaṅkāra* which lends beauty to the poem in its words and sense as ornaments do to the human body. He followed the already developed doctrine of *Marga* (path, school, style) of which six (*Vaidarbhi*, *Gauḍi*, *Pāṇchālī*, *Avanti*, *Māgadhī*, *Lāṭī*) are mentioned by various writers. Dandin accepts the *Vaidarbha* (southern) and *Gauḍa* (eastern) as the main divisions of styles, the rest being subordinate to these two. The distinguishing

marks are the presence in the former of the ten qualities which the other (Gauḍa) does not usually accept. His list of figures includes simile (in thirty-two varieties), metaphor, *Dīpaka*, *Avṛitti* (repetition), *Ākṣhepa*, *Arthāntaranyāsa*, *Vyatireka*, *Vibhāvana*, *Samāsokti*, hyperbole, poetic fancy, and *Hetu*, *Sūkṣhma* and *Leśa*, the last three being rejected by *Bhāmoha*.

Chronologically *Bhāmoha* comes directly after *Daṇḍin* and before *Vāmana*. *Bhāmoha's* *Bhāmoha-vivaraṇa* is lost but his *Kavyalāṅkara* insists on the figures "as the essential feature of the poetry whose body is word and sense". He has, however, no marking lines between qualities and figures. He rejects the distinction of two styles, recognizes only three qualities which are, however, not connected with any special style. According to him a sweet poem is that 'which is agreeable to hear and has not too many compounds, and a clear poem is one which can be understood by even women and children. Long compounds supply strength but are incompatible with sweetness and clearness'. He gives a new list of ten additional defects and describes logical and grammatical errors in poetry.

Vāmana at the end of eighth century completes doctrines of *Daṇḍin* but supplies a new idea, *viz.*, 'the soul of poetry as opposed merely to the body' as mentioned by *Daṇḍin*. According to him 'a poem is not merely words and sense, but there must be qualities and figures as well.' He introduces the doctrine of *Riti* for *Daṇḍin's* doctrine of style, and admits three kinds, *viz.*, *Vaidarbhi*, *Gauḍī* and *Pāñchalī*. "The *Vaidarbhi* is perfect and have all the qualities. The *Gauḍī* possesses the qualities of *Kānti* and *Ojas* understood here in the sense of many compounds and high-sounding words. The *Pāñchalī* has sweetness and gentleness (*madhurya* and *saukumārya*) like the style of *Purāṇas*. According to *Vāmana* "the qualities are vital, the figures not, they are related rather to the body, word and meaning of poetry than to the style which is the soul." *Vāmana's* quality of beauty includes the feature of sentiment which *Daṇḍin* places in the figures *Preyas*, *Rasavat* and *Ūrjasvin*, and the quality of perspicuity covers the *Svabhāvokti* of *Daṇḍin*. *Vāmana* further insists that "simile lies at the bottom of all figures" and thus omits various figures.

Udbhaṭa, the contemporary of *Vāmana*, deals in his *Alaṅkāra-saṁgraha* with forty-one figures including

three varieties of alliteration. He emphasizes on the element of sentiment on poetry and adds the ninth Rasa, calm (*śānta*). Like Bhamaha he ignores the styles of Daṇḍin. He introduces the theory of three Vṛttis (manners), *viz.*, elegant (*upanagarika*), ordinary (*grāmya*), and harsh (*pauruṣa*), based entirely on sound effects, primarily alliteration. He adds the figures of *Dṛṣṭānta* (exemplification) and *Kāvyaṅga* (poetical causation), divides simile according to grammatical form of expression, and investigates the relations of double meaning to other figures as well as the different kinds of blending of figures.

Rudraṭa in the earlier part of the ninth century wrote his *Kavyalakṣa* in sixteen chapters of Ārya verses. He divides figures on the base of sound and sense. Under sound he classes figures on the base of equivocation (*vakrokti*), paronomasia (*śleṣa*), pictorial effects (*chitra*), alliteration and *Yamakas*. And under sense are included figures based on reality, similitude, hyperbole, and coalescence. He extends the manners (*vṛtti*) of Udbhaṭa to five manners of letters (*varṇa*), sweet, harsh, pompous, dainty (*lalita*) and excellent (*bhadrā*). He accepts also the styles of Vāmana and increases the number to four based on the use of compounds. The *Vaidharbhi* has no compounds, the *Pāncālī* compounds up to three words, *Lāṭīya* five to seven, and *Gauḍīya* any number. He introduces the theory of sentiment and recognizes ten of them, adding the feelings of calm (*śānta*) and friendship (*vātsalya*).

The dramatist Rājasekhara wrote *Kavyamīmāṃsā* in about 900. He defines poetry "as a sentence possessing qualities and figures". He accepts Vāmana's doctrine of styles. He develops the doctrine of *Dhvani* (tone) which was originated by Ānandavardhana of Kāśmir in about 850 in his metrical *Kārikas*, *Dhvanyāloka*. Its "super-commentary", *Lochana*, is by Abhinavagupta who refers to some not distant predecessors. Mammaṭa is also included in this school. According to the holders of the doctrine of *Dhvani* (tone) 'the soul of poetry is not style nor sentiment, but tone (*dhvani*) which means that an implicit sense is the essence of poetry'. Three-fold suggestion, *viz.*, a subject, a figure, and a sentiment are admitted by the orthodox members like Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta, the last of whom holds that 'all suggestion must be of

sentiment to which 'subject' and 'figure' are reduced. Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpana* followed this lead. This provides for the ordinary view that 'metaphor or simile is the base of poetry' and that 'the literal sense may be intended but a deeper suggestion is implied', and that 'one figure lay at the base of others' as when Vāmana found simile in all and Bhāmoha hyperbole in all figures. But the system admits that the beauty may be of sense or sound, and permits the kind of poetry called *Chitra* (picture). In dealing with the qualities, the figures and the manners of the earlier writers 'one great simplification was effected by reducing the number of qualities, restricting their extension to sound effects, and by merging in them both the *Ritis* of Vāmana and the identical *Vṛttis* of Udbhaṭa. There came a new doctrine regarding the relation of qualities to the poem, 'the sentiment being regarded as the vital element, and the qualities being related to it as the soul of the poem.'

The three qualities of sound are given by Mammaṭa as depending on arrangement of letters, compounds and style of composition. He also brings *Vṛttis* of Udbhaṭa under qualities and styles of Vāmana into close relation to compounds like Rudraṭa. This doctrine draws a definite line between figures and qualities. 'The figures are only of importance so far as they seek to enhance the sentiment. If figures do not aid the sentiment, then they are merely forms of speech, and their place in poetry is of the third type (*chitra*).

Anandavardhana allows compounds freely in *Ākhyayika* but they are not suitable in love-sorrow, and in *Katha* they should be employed moderately. The doctrine of defects (*dosha*) is treated from the same point of view as that of qualities (*guṇa*). Tautology may become an excellence if it enhances the suggested sense. This school insists that in love there is a defect in using unmelodious (*śrutidushta*) words.

A large number of writers followed this doctrine, the more well known of whom may briefly be referred to here. Bhaṭṭa Nayaka's *Hṛdayadarpana* is a sort of commentary only. Kuntala in his *Vakroktijivita* stresses on figures as the essential feature of poetry and not as ancillary to a sentiment. This view is refuted by Mahiman Bhaṭṭa who holds that *Dhvani* can always be reduced to inference and that there is no such thing as immediate

apprehension of sentiment. The Agnipurāṇa adopts the ordinary definition of poetry 'as possessing qualities and figures and being free from defects' and recognizes four styles. Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kāṇṭhābharāṇa* requires poetry to possess sentiment and adds two more styles, *Māgadhī* and *Avantikā* between *Vaidarbhī* and *Pāñchālī*. His treatment of sentiment in his chief work is supplemented by his *Śṛīngara-prakāśa* where the erotic sentiment is made the chief feature.

Mammaṭa, as already noted, set out the theory of *Dhvani* in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* (about 1100) with a commentary in a complete form. He defines a poem 'as sound and sense, free from defects, possessing qualities and sometimes figures. He ignores sentiment as essential, although he makes the qualities essentially attributes of the sentiment. He reduces the qualities to three and includes under them the styles and manners of earlier writers. He classes defects as those of sentiment, of word, proposition, and sense. He treats figures as of sound and sense.

Viśvanātha in his *Sahitya-darpana* (about 1350) largely follows Mammaṭa, accepts the doctrine of styles and admits four of them, *viz.*, *Vaidarbhī* (dainty) with sweet letters and no long or short compounds; *Gauḍī* with letters of strength and long compounds; *Pāñchālī* with letters of other significance and compounds of five or six words; and *Lāṭī* intermediate between *Pāñchālī* and *Vaidarbhī*. On figures he follows often *Ruṣyaka*. Similar are in spirit and manner the *Ekavālī* of *Vidyādhara* (about 1300) and the *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo* *bhūṣaṇa Vidyānātha* (about 1300); both accept 'subject and figure as objects of suggestion as well as sentiment'. *Vidyādhara* enumerates like Bhoja twenty-four qualities.

Hemachandra's *Kavyānuśāsana* with : *Viveka* commentary is 'destitute of originality' borrowing from Mammaṭa, *Abhinavagupta*, *Rājasekhara* and others. Two *Vāgbhaṭas* of 12th and 13th centuries wrote the *Vāgbhaṭa-lakṣaṇa* and the *Kavyānuśāsana*. The older defines poetry to include ten qualities, figure, sentiment and style which are, however, welded into a whole. The younger follows Hemachandra and allows only three qualities. *Ruṣyaka* (about 1100) wrote the *Alakṣara-Sarvasva* and commentary, to summarize all earlier systems and asserts the doctrine of *Dhvani*. *Jayadeva's*

Chandrāloka is a manual of figures, on which Appayya Dikshita based his Kuvalayananda (about 1600).

Jagannātha in his Rasagaāgadhara supplies a revised definition of poetry 'as sound expressive of a charming idea (ramanīyārtha-pratipādakāśabda). Kshemendra develops the conception of propriety (auchitya) in his Auchityavichāra as essential or life of sentiment, and discusses in his Kavikāṇṭhābharaṇa 'the charm of poetry with illustration of its ten aspects, the defects and excellences with regard to sense, sound, of sentiment', and the various forms with which a poet ought to be familiar. Still more practical advice to poets is given in the Kāvyaikalpalatā and its commentary by Arisinha and Amarachandra (13th century). In the 14th century Bhānuchandra wrote on sentiment in his Rasamañjarī and Rasa-taraṅgiṇī.

A proper classification of the figures of speech appears to have been left out by all these intellectual giants who analyzed poetry so very cleverly. Only Ruyyaka offers a division of figures of sense based on the principles of comparison (upamā), incongruity (virodha), linked succession (sriākhālā), logical reasoning (nyāya), sentence-economy (vākya-nyāya), popular maxims (lokanyāya), apprehension of a secret sense (gūḍhārtha-pratīti) and combination of figures (Śāṅkara). This division is not quite logical. The idea that the face of the beloved is like the moon can be utilized to illustrate a long series of figures based on similarity alone:

'Thy face is like the moon' is simile (upamā). 'The moon is like thy face' is the converse (pratipa). 'Thy face shineth ever, the moon by night alone' is contrast (vyatireka). 'The moon doth reign in heaven, thy face on earth' is typical comparison (prativastu-upamā). 'In the heaven is the moon, on earth thy face' is exemplification (dṛṣṭānta). 'Thy face doth bear the beauty of the moon' is illustration (nidarśana). 'The moon doth pale before thy face' is indirect eulogy (apra-stuta-praśamsā). 'The moon is like thy face, thy face is like the moon' is repeated simile (upamayopamā). 'The sight of the moon doth bring thy face before me' is remembrance (smaraṇa). 'Thy moon-face' is metaphor (rūpaka). 'By thy moon-face the heat of passion doth wane' is commutation (pariṇāma). 'Is this thy face or the moon' is doubt (sandeha). 'The Chakora (bird)

thinking it to be the moon flieth toward thy face' is confusion (*bhrāntimat*). 'This is the moon, this is the lotus, so the (bird) Chakora and the bee fly to thy face' is different representations (*ullekha*). 'This is the moon, not thy face' is negation (*apahnuti*). 'Thy face is like thy face alone' is self-comparison (*ananvaya*). 'Thy face is indeed the moon' is lively fancy (*utprekshā*). 'Thy face is a second moon' is hyperbole (*atīśayokti*). 'The moon and the lotus are vanquished by thy face' is equal pairing (*tulyayogitā*). 'Thy face and the moon rejoice in the night' is illumination (*dipaka*). 'How could such beauty be born among men, not from the earth doth arise tremulous loveliness of the lightning' is the typical comparison (another form of *prativastu-upamā*).

This does not indicate, as rightly held by Professor Keith, mere philosophical subtleties. These illustrations show an extraordinary training of the mind and intellect and also an uncommon sincerity of attachment to something one really likes. Apart from literary achievements the Hindu mind penetrated the fathomless depth of feelings as are clearly indicated by the poetries.

PHILOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

In referring to the *Vedāṅgas* it has been already pointed out that the grammatical analysis of words which forms poetical sentences and figures of speech was understood and practised from very early times. At any rate Yāska (about B. C. 500) knows of schools of *Vaiyākaraṇas* (grammarians) and of *Nairuktas* (etymologists). The grammar of Pāṇini is sufficient proof that there existed a grammatical school which included in its work usages of different Vedas and the different schools of the same Veda. The scientific study of grammar is clearly indicated in the Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini. Yāska already mentions noun (*nāman*), pronoun (*sarvanāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*nipāta*). *Vyākaraṇa* proper refers to parts of speech such as case termination (*vivakti*), number (*vachana*), present tense (*kurvant*), euphonic combination (*sandhi*), compound (*samāsa*), case (*kāraka*), etc. Thus were distinguished stem and termination in nouns, and in verbs root and terminations, tense and other affixes and derivation of nouns from verbs by *Kṛit* suffixes and from nouns by *Taddhita*

suffixes. Words were also derived from verbs by unusual affixes as mentioned in the *Uṇādi-sūtra*.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (about B. C. 350) comprising about 4,000 sūtras (rules) treats in eight books of (i) technical terms and rules of interpretation; (ii) nouns in composition and case relations; (iii) the adding of suffixes to roots; (iv, v) adding of suffixes to nouns; (vi, vii) accent and changes of sound in word formation, and (viii) the word in the sentence. Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* of some 1245 Sūtras are placed between Pāṇini and Patañjali. About that time is also placed Vararuchi to whom are ascribed several works, viz., *Prākṛita-prakāśa*, book iv of the *Kātantra* and the *Lingānuśāsana*. The *Vararuchi-Saṃgraha* in 25 Kārikās (rules) deals with case construction, compounds, verbs, and nominal function. Save for Bhartṛihari, Patañjali (about B. C. 150) closes the line of great grammarians. His *Mahabhashya* has famous commentaries like those of Bhartṛihari (about 651), *Vakya-padiya* in three books of verse, Kaiyata (12th century), Nagoji-bhaṭṭa (about 1700) commented through Bhartṛihari. There are other commentaries also on Pāṇini, of which *Kaśikā-vṛtti* of Jayaditya and Vamana is well known for its clearness. The *Dhātupāṭha* which gives the roots according to classes with indicatory letters containing information regarding their formation is ascribed to Pāṇini. On it are based the *Dhātu-pradīpa* of Maitreya Rakshita, the *Daiva* of Deva, the *Purushakāra* of Kṛishṇalīlā-śuka, and the *Mādhaviya Dhāturaṇa* ascribed to Mādhava, brother of Sayana of the 14th century. The *Gaṇapāṭha* of some unknown author and the *Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhī* of Vardhamāna (1140) are based on some other grammar.

The *Kātantra*, otherwise known as *Kalapa* and *Kaumāra*, of Sarvavarman, is based on the lost grammar of Nepalese Buddhist Indragomin. It originally comprises four books. It appears with supplements in Tibetan translation and in Durga Sinha's commentary. Its *Dhātupāṭha* is extant only in Tibet. Its fragments have been found in Central Asia. There is a commentary, *Śishya-hitanyasa*, by Ugrabhūti. It deeply affected the Pāli grammar of Kachchayana and the Dravidian grammarians. It was popular in Kashmir and Bengal. It came after Pāṇini.

The *Chandra-vyakarana* of one unidentified Chandra

was popular in Kashmir, Tibet and Nepal and reached Ceylon also. It comprises a Dhatupāṭha, Gaṇapāṭha, Upādisūtra, and Paribhāṣā-sūtra. Kāśyapa (about 1200), wrote a sort of commentary on it, Balavabodhana, which became popular in Ceylon. The Saṁkshiptasāra of Kamadīśvara (after 1150) deals in seven chapters with Sanskrit and in one chapter with Prakrit grammar. It was popular in West Bengal. East Bengal favoured Padmanābhadaṭṭa's Supadma-Vyākaraṇa (1375), Bihar and Benares the Śaśvati-Prakriyā with commentary by Anubhūti Svarūpa.

Treatises on gender known as Liṅgānuśāsana are ascribed to Pāṇini, Vararuchi, Harshadeva (605-647), Vāmana (about 800), Śakāṭayana and Hemachandra. They are also appended to Lexicons.

LEXICON

Further analysis of language is shown in the lexicons where collections of terms under various categories are made. Yāska in his Nirukta (B. C. 500) first recorded such collections of Vedic terms for the purpose of interpretation of sacred texts. The Kośas of classical Sanskrit, on the other hand, supply lists of words bearing same or similar meanings. Thus the Dictionaries are of two kinds, *viz.*, synonymous in which words are grouped by subject-matter, and homonymous (nānārtha) in which words of different meanings are grouped together. References are found to Kātyāyana's Nāmamālā, Vāchaspati's Śabdārnava, Vikramāditya's Samsirāvarta, and Vyādi's Utpalini. Fragments of a dictionary exist in Weber's Mss. found in Kashgar. The well known dictionary of Amarasinha (about 8th century), the Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana, is usually known as Amarakośa. It is synonymous, arranged in three books of subjects, with an appendix in the last on homonyms, indeclinables, and genders. Commentaries were written on it by Kshirasvāmin (11th century), Vandyaghaṭṭiya Sarivānanda (1159), and Rayamukujamaṇi (1531). Purushottamadeva (15th century) wrote the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, and the Hārāvali of synonyms and homonyms refers to very rare terms, many being from Buddhist texts. Śaśvata's Anekārtha Samuchchaya belongs to the period of Amarakośa. In about 950 Halāyudha's Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā and a

century later Yādvaprakāśa's Vāijayanti arranged words by syllables, genders, and initial letters. In the 12th century Hemachandra's Abhidhāna-chintamani deals with synonyms in six sections beginning with Jain gods and ending with abstracts, adjectives and particles, and is supplemented by the Botanic dictionary Nighaṇṭu-śeṣha. His Anekartha-saṅgraha deals with homonyms in six sections beginning with one-syllable and ending with six-syllable words arranged by initial letters and end consonants. The Jain Dhanañjaya wrote in 1140 his Nāmamālā, and Maheśvara wrote in 1111 Viśvaprakāśa. Later came Mankha's Anekarthakośa and Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārnava-saṅgraha (about 1200). To the 14th century belong Medirīkara's Anekartha śabda-kośa and Irugapa's Nānārtha-ratnamālā. There are minor works like Ekakshara-kośa, Dvirapa-kośa, Trirapa-kośa, etc., and medical, astronomical or astrological glossaries. In 972 Dhanapala wrote a Prakrit dictionary, Prakṛita-lakṣmi-nāmamālā out of which Hemachandra produced his Deśanāmamālā. At the time of Akbar there came a Persian-Sanskrit dictionary, Pāraśiprakāśa, and in 1643 under the same title Vedāṅgarāya wrote a dictionary on Astronomical and Astrological terms.

The cultural as well as the scientific value of this class of work is obvious. They at once point to the vastness of the literature and their scientific arrangement, in the absence of which no one can get an idea of the niceness of literature.

PALI AND PRAKRIT

An attempt was made from about the 5th century before Christ to vernacularize the extensive and the most developed Sanskrit literature into Prakrit and Pali. The imitation was not fully successful although the situation was opportune and favourable owing to the complexities which naturally arose at the concluding strictly Vedic period at about B. C. 800. The challenge was frustrated by the rise of the classical Sanskrit literature in the forms of the Upanishads, Epics, Kāvya, Dramas, etc. Besides the Prakrit being incorporated in the dramatic literature and Buddha himself being recognized as an incarnation of god Viṣṇu, Pali and Prakrit could not achieve their full and independent

growth. On the other hand the Jains and the Buddhists themselves reverted to the use of Sanskrit. Thus the importance of Prakrit and Pali is limited mostly to the Jain and the Buddhist Scriptures only.

BUDDHISTS LITERATURE IN PALI

The whole of the Buddhist literature in Pali developed on the lines of the Dharmaśāstra in Sanskrit. In Pali there is no literature on sciences like arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mensuration, medicine and surgery, or on royal polity like the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Nītiśāstra of Kamandaki and Śukranīti. The Pali literature is confined mostly to the religious treatises of the Buddhists. The entire Pali scripture is classified under three Piṭakas (baskets), viz., Vinaya, Sūta, and Abhidhamma. The whole of this literature are collections of speeches, sayings, conversations, songs, narratives, and rules of the order.

After the death (about B. C. 557) of Buddha, his immediate disciples organized the first Buddhist Council in the city of Rājagṛha in order to establish a canon of the religion (Dharma), of the discipline (Vinaya), and of the doctrine (Sūtra), which form the Tripiṭaka. A second council was held a hundred years after Buddha's death at Vaiśālī, of which the sole object was to do away with the ten heresies regarding the discipline of the order. A real canon of sacred texts was compiled at the Third Council of a thousand monks held at Pāṭaliputra at the time of king Asoka 236 years after the Buddha's death. King Kanishka held the Fourth Council at Kushumapura (Peshwar) in the second or third century A.D. The Pali canon known as Tripiṭaka settled at the Pāṭaliputra session was brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, son of Asoka, and the king of Ceylon, Vattugāmini, got it written down in the first century before Christ.

The Vinaya piṭaka resembles the Vedic Brāhmaṇas both in respect of rule (vidhi) and explanation (arthavāda) including narrative poems formulated by Buddha for the monastic community (Saṅgha). It refers to the rules of discipline for the order, and precepts for the daily life of monks and nuns. There are rules for periodical confession of sins, for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medicinal remedies,

and legal procedure in case of schism. This also contains legends and narratives concerning the life of Buddha, and of monks and nuns. The Vinaya-piṭaka consists of four books, viz., Sutta-Vibhaṅga containing the explanation of the articles of Patimokkha, Khandakas (sections) which deal with the daily life of monks and nuns, Parivāra being a collection of Canonical tables and texts, and Patimokkha which comprises Mahāvagga (great division) and Chullavagga (lesser division) dealing with similar subjects.

The Sutta-piṭaka resembles the Upanishads and the Mahābhārata, and deals with the moral teachings of ethical and metaphysical nature. It contains prose dialogues, legends, sayings, and verses or songs. It consists of five Nikāyas (collections), viz., Digga-nikāya (long collection), Majjhima-nikāya (medium collection), Samyutta nikāya (complete collection), Aṅguttara-nikāya (numerical collection), and Khuddaka-nikāya (lost collection) which contains fifteen parts, viz., (1) Khuddakapāṭha (short text), (2) Dhammapada (law in maxim), (3) Udāna (spiritual aspiration), (4) Itivuttaka (utterances of Buddha), (5) Sutta-nipāta (section of less amplitude), (6) Vimāna-vatthu (tale of divine palaces), (7) Peta-vattu (tale of ghosts), (8) Theragāthā (songs for monks), (9) Therīgāthā (songs for nuns), (10) Jātaka (stories of previous births of Buddha), (11) Niddesa (commentary on Sutta-nipāta), (12) Paṭi-sambhidaśa-magga (work of Abhidhamma), (13) Apadāna (feats of holiness), (14) Buddhavaṃsa (legends of twenty-four previous Buddha), and (15) Chariya-piṭaka (stories of thirty-five Jātakas).

The Abhidhamma-piṭaka treats of the philosophical subjects like those of the six systems of philosophy in Sanskrit. It is composed chiefly in form of questions and answers. It comprises seven works in the traditional order. (1) The Dhamma-saṃgīti deals with the classification and definition of psychical condition and phenomena which are inseparable from philosophy and religion proper. (2) The Vibhaṅga deals with the categories and formulas introduced in the Dhamma-saṃgīti with some new terms and new definition. (3) The Dhātukathā in fourteen chapters discusses in questions and answers the elements of psychical phenomena and their mutual relation. (4) The Puggali-pannati deals with description of human individuals

and classifies individuals like monks and others according to their ethical qualities. (5) The Kathāvatthu deals with the subjects of discourse; it consists of 23 sections each of which contains 8 to 12 questions and answers, in which the most diverse false views are presented, confuted and rejected. (6) The Yamaka is so called because all the questions are presented and explained in two ways. (7) The Patthāna deals with the investigation of the 24 kinds of relationship which are assumed between the corporeal and psychical phenomena, *e.g.*, relationship of subject and object, the ruler and the ruled, with the sole exception of Nirvāṇa that is absolute. There is nothing which is not related to something else in one of the 24 ways.

The Milinda Panna is a semi-canonical Pali work named after Greco-Indian Menandros (1st century B. C.). It resembles the dialogue of Plato and is written in most elegant prose. It purports to discuss a number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism.

There are also in Pali some Commentaries, Chronicles, Purāṇas, Epics and Poems (Kāvya), Stotras and Lexicons. There are, however, no dramas nor works on sciences and royal polity as stated above.

JAIN LITERATURE IN PRAKRIT

The Jains admit the close relation of their religion with Brahmanism by asserting that the religion of the Brahmins is a degenerate form of it. Jainism lays far more stress than Buddhism on asceticism and all manner of cult exercises (yoga). In contrast to Buddha, Mahāvira taught a very elaborate belief in the soul. Twenty-three Tirthankaras commencing with Ādinātha and ending with Parśvanātha founded 250 years before Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthankara and the senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha, the religion of Niganthas (fetterless) or the Digambaras. The Śvetāmbaras (white-clothed) were the followers of the reformer Mahāvira.

Both the Śvetāmbara and Digāmbara sects called their sacred books the Āgama-Siddhānta. Both the sets agree in calling the twelve Āngas (limbs of religion like the six Vedāṅgas in Sanskrit) the first and most important part of their canon. The Siddhānta

comprises 45 to 50 books. The Pūrvas contain the original doctrine in fourteen texts which Mahāvira himself taught in Ardha Māgadhi Prākṛit language to his disciples known as Gaṇadhara (heads of schools).

The individual works in the canon comprising only the Siddhāntas of the Śvetāmbaras consist of 12 Angas, 12 Upāṅgas, 10 Pañnas (Prakaraṇas or scattered pieces), 7 Chheya (cheddha) Suttas, 4 Mula Suttas, one Nāṇḍi Sutta and one Annogadara (Annyoga dvāra). All these sacred books are written in dry language and in didactic tone. They resemble in style the Sūtras in Sanskrit. But unlike the Sanskrit Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras they are both in prose and verse mixed.

As the title of the first Anga, Āchāra (conduct), implies, the Angas generally deal with the rules of conduct prescribed by Mahāvira especially for the monks. The sermons contain exhortations and warnings against any kind of killing or injury of living creatures. They are beautifully illustrated with simple stories, legends, and narratives. There are also rules for begging and wandering, and speaking. Monks are warned against the temptation for women. They are asked to overcome the temptation of family life, and persuasion of friends, relations, kings, and Brahmins. Incidental references are made to the ten themes of mathematics, the Brāhmī scripts, the names of the twelve Angas, and the contents of the fourteen Pūrvas. The fifth Anga (Bhagavati-Vyakhyā-prajñapti) refers elaborately to the life and work of Mahāvira, his predecessors and contemporaries, his disciples, and Nigānṭhas and Ājivakas. The sixth Anga (Jiva dharma-kathā) is full of religious narratives, legends, parables, regular novels, tales of travellers, adventures, mariners, fairy tales, robber-tales, and the story of the Hindu Goddess Kālī. The ninth Anga (Anuttara-rūpa-pāṭikośa) emphasises how the Jaina saints attain to the highest perfection by starving themselves to death. The tenth Anga (Prajñā-vyākaraṇa) in form of question and explanation deals with the ten gates (dvāra) of salvation, and refers to the five vows, *viz.*, not to hurt any living being, not to lie, not to steal, not to be unchaste, and not to be attached to possessions. The eleventh Anga (Vipāka-sūtra) contains legends on the retribution of

good and evil deeds after the theory of Karma in Sanskrit. The twelfth Anga (Ditthi-vyaya) is a sort of compilation from the other texts.

One Upāṅga is attached to each of the twelve Angas. They are additional rather than supplementary texts. They deal with similar subjects in the same legendary and question-answer form.

The ten Prakaraṇas deal with miscellaneous subjects referring to the Jaina religion, such as Arhat (Saints), Siddha (perfected ones), Sādhus (pious ones), and Dharma (duty).

The seven Ohheda Suttas generally deal with the rules of life for the monks and nuns, and atonements and penances like the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Buddhists. They are partly Kalpa Sūtras (of the Vedic literature) and partly Vyavahāra (usage), the former teaching the liability for punishment, and the latter the meeting of the punishment.

Of the four Mula Suttas, the first (Uttarādhyāyana) is a compilation of various texts dealing with summons in series of aphorisms (Sūtra), admonition to pupils, and instructions to monks. The second (Āvaśyaka) deals with the obligatory observances of the monks. The third (Daśa-vaikalika) in ten chapters discusses the monastic life. And the fourth (Piṇḍa-niryukti) deals with morality.

The two other texts, Nandi-sutta and Annyoga-dvāra, are encyclopedic works in prose with occasional verses, dealing with everything which should be known by the Jaina monks.

These are the canons of the Śvetāmbara sect. The Siddhāntas of the Digambaras also recognize the twelve Angas and their titles are common in many places.

The fourteen Prakīrṇakas (miscellanea) are intended for the simple-minded. Like the commentaries on the Vedas known as Brāhmaṇas, the Jaina monks wrote the Niryuktis as commentaries of the canons. There is a large number of works dealing with Jaina religion, and philosophy and more specially with logic. The Jaina epic poems included the adapted form of the Rāmāyaṇa in Sanskrit by Vimala Śārī in Maharashtra Prakṛit in 118 cantos stated to have been compiled 530 years after Mahāvīra. Jināsena has adopted the Mahābhārata

in Sanskrit in his *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* in 783 A. D. The *Purāṇas* in Sanskrit have also been imitated. Corresponding to the *Purāṇas* of the *Digambaras*, the *Śvetāmbaras* have the *Charitras* (biographies). *Hemachandra* wrote (between 1160 and 1172 A. D.) his *Mahākāvya* called *Trishashti-Śalaka-Purusha-Charitra*, dealing with sixty-three biographies. The *Jaina Paṭṭāvalis* are mere lists of teachers and works, legendary in nature but contain occasional historical facts. The *Prākṛit Pravandhas* are also semi-historical works but are anecdotes rather than biographies. There is a vast *Jaina* fairy tale literature, written in prose and in verse, in Sanskrit, *Prākṛit*, and *Apabhraṃśas*. But all these are essentially sermons dealing with religious instructions and edification. There are also several *Kathānakas* or short stories. A large number of dramas also are ascribed to the *Jaina* playwrights. A hundred *Prakarāṇas* (love-dramas) are attributed to *Ramachandra*, a pupil of *Hemachandra*. Thus the *Jaina* literature in *Prākṛit* is more extensive than the *Buddhist* literature in *Pāli*.

It is obvious even from this brief outline that both the *Jaina* literature in *Prākṛit* and the *Buddhist* literature in *Pāli* developed in poor imitation of the *Sanskrit* literature. The modern languages also *e.g.*, *Hindi*, *Pengali*, *Tamil*, *Gujarati* and others, are similarly descendants of *Sanskrit* literature. Excepting in *Bengali*, there is not much literature of serious nature and of original character in the other modern languages. It is hardly possible to cite or compare a poet of *Rabindranath Tagore's* achievements in *Bengali* in any other modern languages.

The variety and extensiveness, the originality and technical perfection, and the richness in composition and ideas of our entire literature in *Sanskrit* and in its descendent languages will support and supplement the standard and condition of our culture and civilisation revealed in other matters as in the field of literature also, which like mirror reflects the minds and deeds of our society truly, fully, and correctly.

It may be recapitulated in conclusion that Hinduism, which is understood as equivalent to Indian culture and civilization, accepts the self-evident truth that men are born with unequal mental and physical characteristics which are determined by their past actions. It, however, encourages that every one should endeavour and should be helped to develop his highest potentiality in order to counteract his limitations at birth. The four castes represent respectively the predominance of spiritual power, warrior-like physical valour, agricultural industrial and commercial wealth, and manual labour. The four ideals of Hindu life are the ethical virtues, economic security, legitimate experiences at different stages of life, and ultimate communion with the eternal God. Thus the first stage is devoted to the acquisition of knowledge according to one's aptitude and capacity; the second to the domestic satiety through service to family and society; third to calm reflection in solitude on worldly and spiritual truths; and the last to uninterrupted contemplation of God through complete renunciation of all worldly attachments. The fear of death is thus removed from Hindu thought, and the inevitable end like the other limitations at birth is gladly welcomed as a new dress when the old one is worn out. 'To a true Hindu the great God is our common Father, his creative energy our benign Mother, the world our sweet home, and all God-fearing people are our kith and kin'. As the saviour of humanity, God manifests himself in times of human crisis as incarnation under various forms and religious traditions.

Hinduism is based on the belief in God and faith in the immortality of souls, every one of which will ultimately attain to liberation. Hindus are, therefore, more anxious to apply their physical, psychical, moral and spiritual powers, with which they are born, to the discovery, conquest and exploitation of the world within than to employ their physical and intellectual energy in the discovery, conquest and exploitation of the world without. Concentration of attention on the inner life leads naturally to a recognition of the superiority of spiritual values over material values. Despite possible adverse effects of this attitude upon the material standard of living, in instances of maladjustment, it must be admitted as constructive for inner equilibrium, psychological perspicacity, and moral and spiritual strength.

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APPENDIX I

Political Freedom vs. Cultural Freedom

In the chapters of this volume the motto 'that we are to be quite certain of our data to place the monumental record before the reader exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it 'faithfully and literally' has been strictly followed. Thus no controversial point has been touched. In the Bibliography, however, reference has been made to the views of Miss Katherine Mayo as recorded in her ill famed 'Mother India' and of another American, Mr. W. C. Bullitt, in his less known, 'The Old Ills of Modern India' published at an enormous cost by the enterprising magazine 'Life'. Similar intellectual giants among the English include not only Sir Michael O' Dwyer (India as I knew it, 1885-1925), who is well known to Indians, and a less known but more forceful writer, Mr. William Archer (India and the Future). Adolf Kaegi has, amongst some others, attempted a reply to Miss Mayo in his 'Life in Ancient India,' and Sir John Woodroffe, a really learned, exceptionally unprejudiced and strictly impartial Judge, once, of Calcutta High Court, has refuted Archer in a very significantly titled volume—'Is India Civilized?' Among the dispassionate interpreters of Indian culture and civilization the venerable name of Max Muller of German origin is outstanding. Professors Thomas, Keith, Macdonell, Rapson, Vogel, Barnett, and Sir Jean Herbert, Sir John Marshall, Jolly, Burgess, Fergusson, Princep and others have generously appreciated the Indian contributions to the world thought and solid achievements in the field of social laws, economic progress, democratic basis of political organisation, arts and literature, philosophy and religion, and positive knowledge as in Materia Medica, Therapeutics, Anatomy, Embriology, Metallurgy, Chemistry, Physics, descriptive Zoology, Astronomy, Geometry, Algebra, Arithmetic, Trigonometry, etc. Both these critics and admirers agree on a vital point. Under the past foreign domination of conquerors of various nationalities India, unlike other subjugated countries, pertinaciously offered passive resistance to a complete cultural conquest. Now there is a greater danger of our losing ourselves irretrievably as we are politically free to imitate a foreign culture under the system of fallible majority party-government.

We have got complete political freedom. Thanks to Providence, thanks to the sagacity and generosity unknown in history of the British government and people, the Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi and the unifying efforts and miracle of Subhash Chandra Bose, and sacrifices and hardships willingly embraced by numerous patriotic men and women for a century, ultimately led by Congress workers headed by Jawaharlal Nehru and others. But we have not yet got our cultural freedom. The cultural freedom is more difficult to achieve than the political freedom. But in the absence of political freedom the cultural freedom is not obtainable. Thus all conquerors of a country endeavour to effect a cultural conquest of the subjugated people, so that the political conquest may endure. India has passed through this trial since the assault on Hindu culture made by Zoaro-

strians, Jains, Buddhists, Alexander the Great, Indo-Parthians, Indo-Bactrians, Indo-Seythians, Kushans, Pathans, Moghals, Portuguese, French and the English. Miss Mayo from social life and Archer from moral and spiritual life tried to show the cultural backwardness of Indians. And the latest is Bullitt who in his article published in November, 1951, in "Life" has endeavoured to show from statistics our lack of fundamental elements of culture and democracy even after the achievement of political freedom and has tempted us to imitate U. S. A.

Man being the master of his destiny the future is to be judged especially by educational policy of the government of free India. When Adolf Hitler came into power he had his ideology in regard to race purity and superiority, unification of Germany vivisectioned by Versailles Treaty, and regaining of German colonies. For achieving this ideal what he first tried was the reform in education of German children from the age of 6 to 23, till the students reached the university stage but were subject to military service till the age of 50 years. Germany was militarised "from the cradle to the grave". And the educational values of Germany were rated in the order of (1) race (i.e. the superiority of the Germanic with its mission to dominate the world), (2) character (i.e. political reliability in strict accordance with Nazi doctrines), (3) body (i.e., physical fitness), and (4) knowledge. Along these rigidly prescribed lines the mind of German youth since 1933 was intensively trained. As a member of either S. S. or S. A. every German male was liable to be called up at any moment for special military service or any other duty and underwent, till he was well past the age of fifty, refresher or other courses. (Neville Henderson, *Failure of a Mission*, pp. 34-35).

Our central Ministry of education, strengthened by several advisory bodies and secretaries borrowed even from the universities have not yet been able to settle our policy and ideal in education. And, therefore, it is not yet known if we are going to regain our lost culture or are destined to continue in slavery and imitation of foreign culture. 'India has had in the past her political, economic, industrial and educational organisations articulated in a true and coherent social organism which like all living organisms, was self-maintaining and self-renewing, not some thing borrowed and mechanically operating from without. Is India now trying to find herself, or something else—her soul or another's, asks Sir John Woodroffe in his 'Is India Civilized' (pp. 298-299, 304). There appears to be a tendency to imitate the West, especially U. K. and U. S. A., if not U. S. S. R. Sir John has given instances of our preferring 'puffed rice from America and sour milk from Bulgaria', which are nothing more than the Indian *Moorih* and *Dahi*, yet not so fresh and good, but because they come from the West. Similar preference is noticeable in other institutions also especially political and educational.

'According to Hindu ideas a child is not born with a mind which is *tabula rasa*. On the contrary the mind bears with it the history of countless past experiences in previous births, which have left certain impressions on and tendencies in it. These constitute the disposition (*samskāra*) of the soul or mental body (*antahkarana*). It covers both instinct and innate ideas. This forms the essence of a man or people. For it is the quintessence of past thoughts and

acts. It is, therefore, that which really counts. The *Saṁskāra* when embodied in a particular man explicates into the particular character, disposition, thoughts and acts of that man. It is thus the seed (*bīja*) of a man or collectivity of men. It is the root of type. This general racial soul is in the realm of mind that which persists like germ-plasm in life and substratum in matter for chemical and physical changes. There have been no doubt changes but yet a uniformity is noticed in a conservative Indian. This *Saṁskāra* is likely to be suppressed in certain families both educated and uneducated and there may grow up a type 'lacking in reverence, intolerant of control, independent to the extent of disobedience, realistic, concerned merely with the here and now, sceptical of or denying the existence of God and the immortality of the soul'. It is, however, true that a particular *Saṁskāra* potentially contains and gives birth to particular beliefs and action.

If in our educational policy there be a resolution to supplant altogether Indian culture by another there will be difficulty and resistance as is clear from the opposition to the Hindu Code Bill, Secularism and other social and political reforms. If the education be of a foreign type in which all that is specifically Indian is ignored or destroyed recrudescence of the ancient *Saṁskāra* will follow as the "Call of the Blood" and chaos and indiscipline will endanger the political freedom. All that is required is to free this *Saṁskāra* from "the super incumbent foreign mass which being unassimilated is threatening to choke it. On the other hand if India regains cultural freedom, that is, the full right and opportunity of self-expression, she will produce in the end what is good and suitable for her, and what, having regard to her great past, will also be great and thus of benefit to humanity at large." No good result will be got by the adoption of Mr. Archer's suggestion in his 'India in the Future' to give up the illusion of a glorious past, which he says does not exist, and to conform herself to the Western spirit and ways." 'National education means to bring up an Indian as an Indian, and not like an English man or any one else. What is to 'educate' but to 'educer', to draw out? What can be drawn out but that which is potentially present in a child, and that which is present is the Indian *Saṁskāra*.'

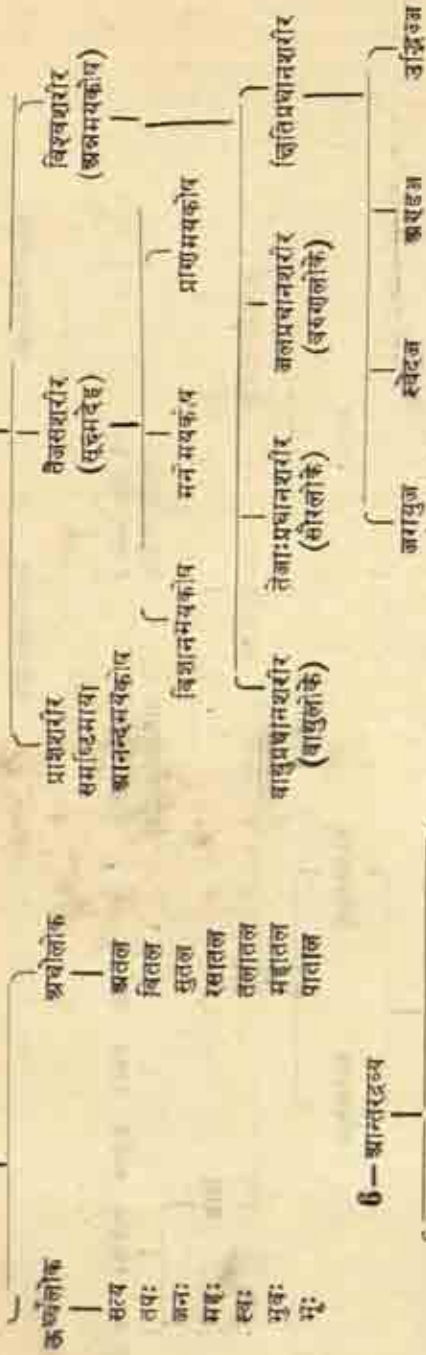
'India is now approaching the most momentous epoch in her history. Will she have the strength to keep her feet in it and remain Indian, that is, will she preserve her grand civilization. Where can she gain strength to save herself, as Herself, except from her own cultural inheritance? The universal assertion and adoption by all peoples of the noble and essential principles of her spiritual civilization will lead to a world peace.'

'India has taught that man is essentially either that self-same spirit, or a part of or akin to it; that the universe is governed by a just law; that all life is sacred; that morality is the law of humanity which is the master of its destiny and reaps only what it has sown; that the universe has a moral purpose, and that the social structure must be so ordered as to subserve it.' The five-fold sacrifices prescribed for daily performance by the householder as discussed in Chapter I of this volume show the emphasis laid on the social service in Indian civilization. There is nothing antisocial

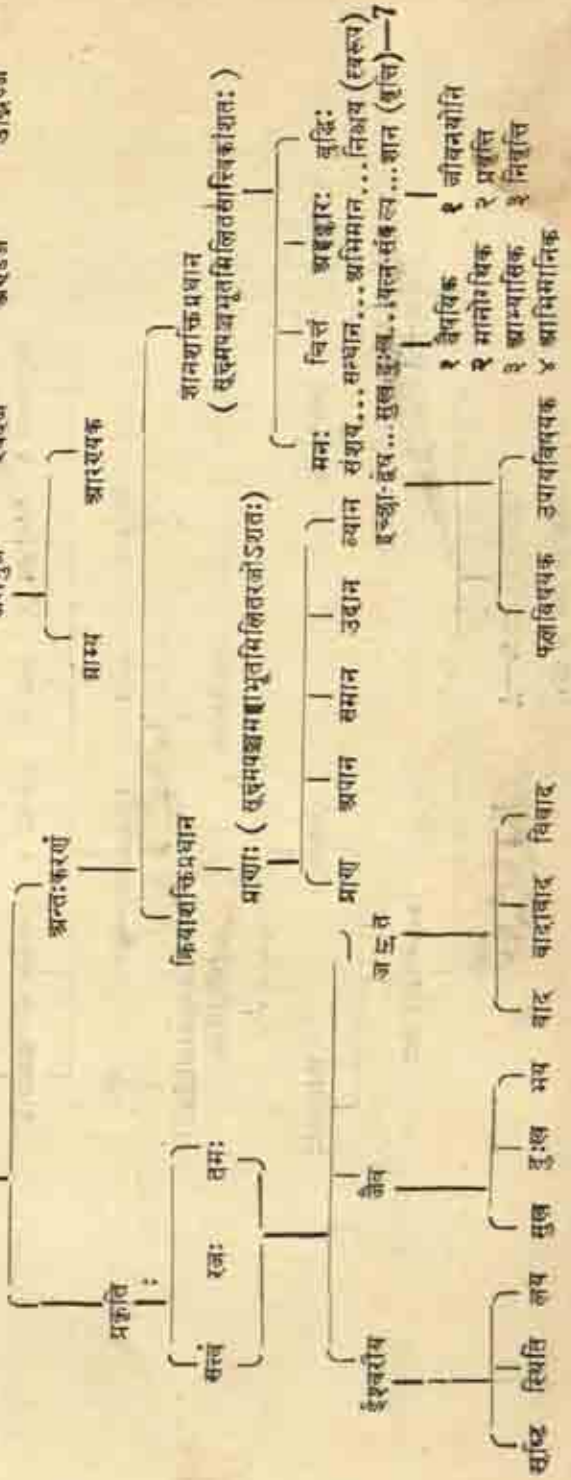
in our customs, habit, and outlook. That 'societies [at least as democratic as ours existed for centuries in pre-Buddhist India] is correctly declared by Sir Jean Herbert. 'There is no other civilization which more justly and logically balances the claims of the life of the world and the life of spirit than does Hinduism. How supremely beautiful and balanced the idea of four Ashramas was, which harmonised the world and God in one whole and which only a truly civilized people could have devised and practised. The Karma doctrine is distinctly metaphysical. It is not a mere empirical generalization but has a strong rational basis. This is not to be identified with the physical law of causality. This law of Karma is not inexorable, far from being fatalistic it is the doctrine according to which man is master of his destiny. He has made himself what he is and makes himself what he will be, notwithstanding unfortunate conditions which are due to his previous actions. Unselfish good action (nishkāma karma) does not bind, and with true spiritual knowledge leads to liberation, and selfish good action done with desire for fruit (sakāma) leads to happiness in this world and in heaven'. The Hindu intellect has also independently appreciated the dignity of objective facts, devised the methods of observation and experiment, elaborated the machinery of logical analysis and true investigation, attacked the external universe as a system of secrets to be unravelled, and has wrung out of nature the knowledge which constitutes the foundations of science. The analysis elaborated in the appended chart will show that the 'Indian thought regards philosophy as religious and religion as philosophical.

In this period of scepticism due to foreign influence there are even educated Indians who believe in none of such things and who are as materialists as any Western. But the Hindu civilization which survives to-day has absorbed other cultures. "It has swallowed up every civilization and every religion which has mixed with it." Owing to this fear an American writer, Mr. Price Collier, justifies (The East in the West, p. 177), however, the past British attitude in India 'in refusing such intimacy of intercourse as would entail the mixing up of one civilization with the other.' But the 'East and West are now inevitably linked up in a way which almost entirely has destroyed the isolation of the past. There can thus be no purely separatist culture. As a result a common human consciousness is arising which is working for a common moral end in disregard of all racial and geographical barriers. Sir John Woodroffe boldly holds that "in any case the chief religious and philosophical concepts of India are in their essentials imperishable." Whether the educational policy of free India will encourage the Indian people to hold them or not they will be taken up and added to the cultural wealth of the civilized world. "I will only say this, with conviction," concludes Sir John Woodroffe, "that if the Indian people steep themselves in their culture, and if those who have lost regain their Indian soul, that soul will give an Indian answer to every Indian problem which the Indian soul suggests to itself. The soul which replies will be spiritual and endowed with that will to maintain itself, from which all success follows."

5—जैव

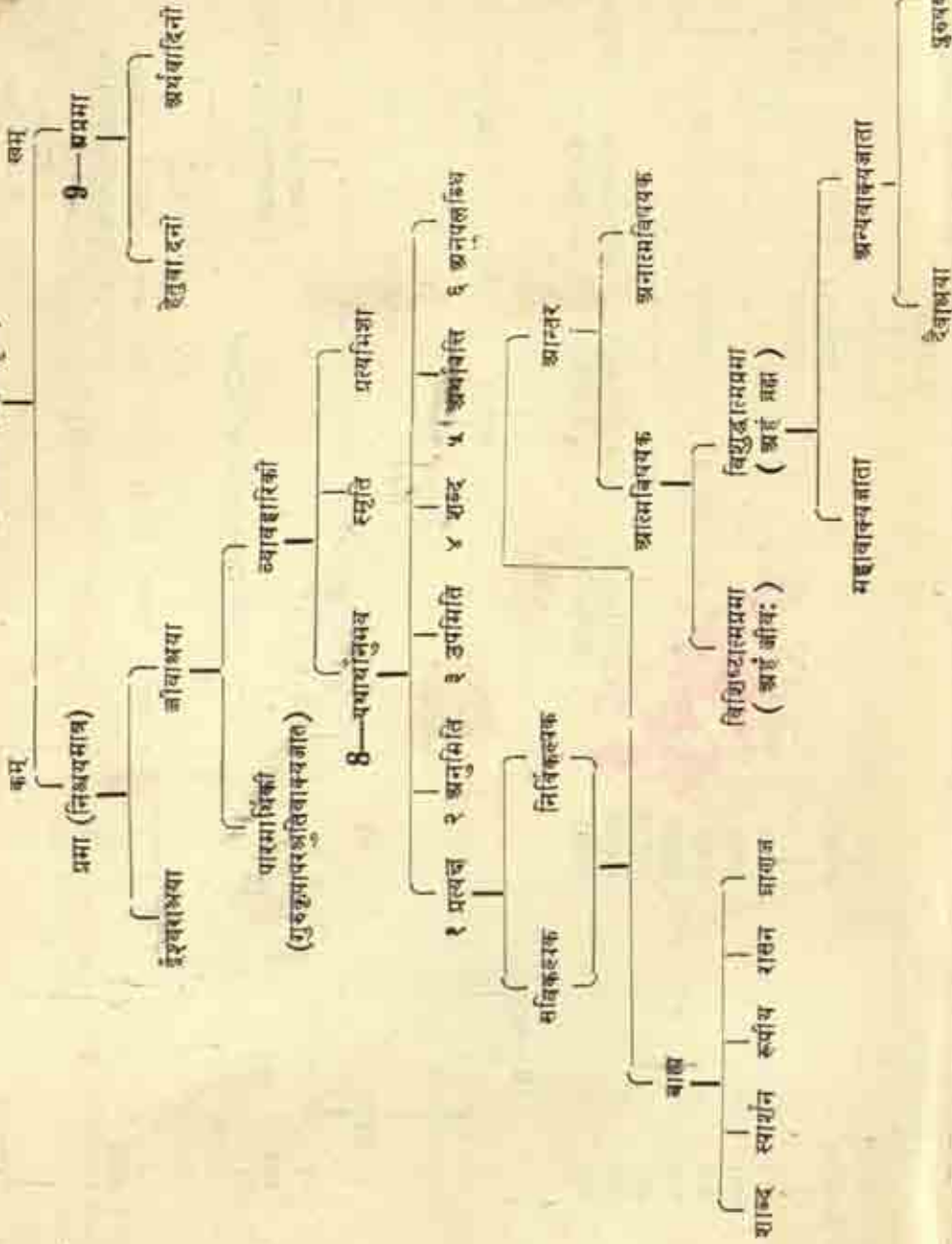


6—आन्तरद्वय

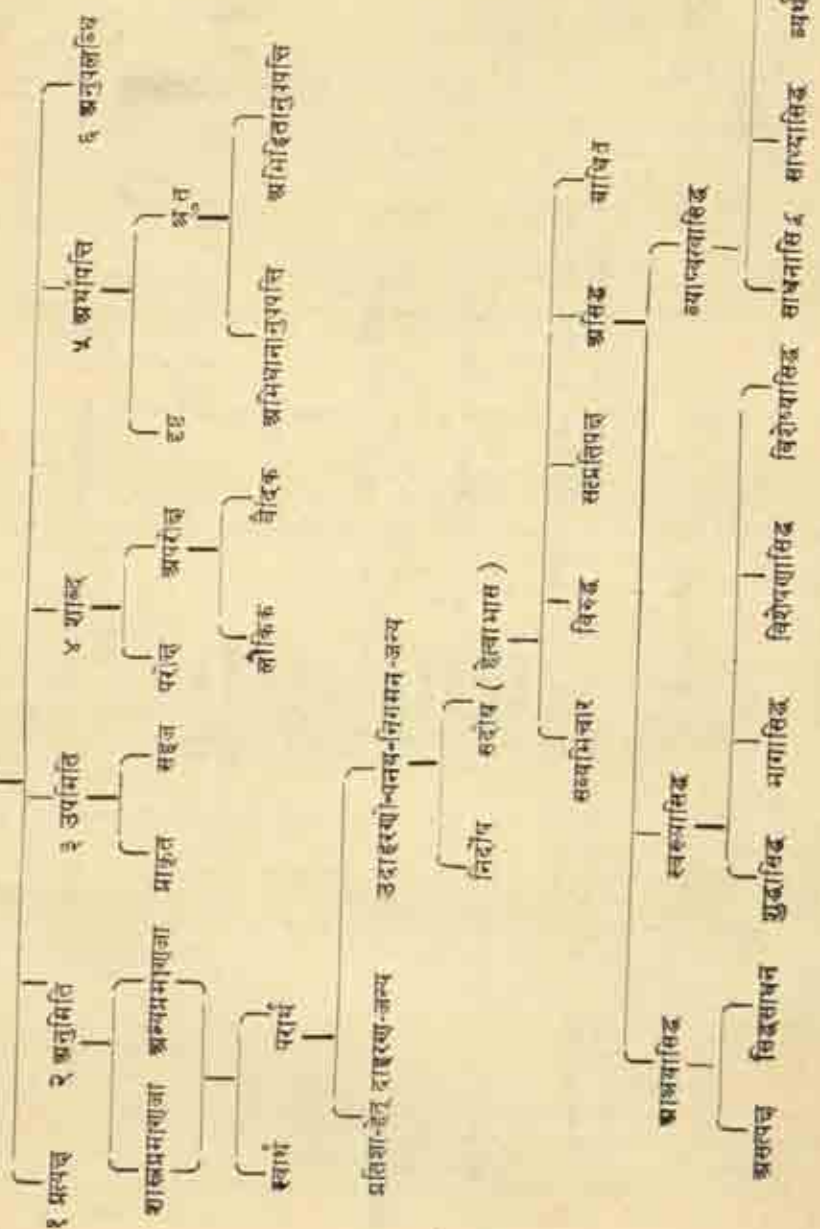


“६३ कं ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म”

7—ज्ञानम् (बुद्धिवृत्ति)



8-कर्म-पदार्थानुभव



APPENDIX II

Extracts from Opinions and Reviews on the First Edition

"Ordinary research scholars seem to ignore the fact that the past is of interest to us only in so far as it was living, and that, unless they discover it for us in such a way as to make us feel its life, we may admire them for their patience and industry, but will not be the wiser for their labours. I have often felt sad that so much talent and industry should disappear in the publication of matter where bones keep on rattling without forming for us an outline of the figure that once moved. I, therefore, cannot help congratulating Dr. P. K. Acharya...for his great work. I can say this much that the learned author has succeeded in re-fashioning for us, out of the debris of the past, a picture.....which, while it speaks much for his scholarly equipment, has the additional merit of interesting us in a real human way. The indirect glimpses it gives into the life of the people are something for which his readers will have reasons to be grateful to him."

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

(The Visva Bharati Quarterly, May-July, 1935)

"Dr. Acharya's name is already well known by his contributions on Indian Architecture published in seven large volumes in the *Manasara (Śilpaśāstra)* Series by the U. P. Government through the Oxford University Press. In the work under review Dr. Acharya has ably brought out the elements of our culture and civilization in the form of a hand book which should be of great use to students of the subject and also to the general public. The subjects have been classified under Family, Social, Economic, Political, Moral and Religious Life. All subjects connected with the formation of family, such as marriage, sacraments, food, clothes, house and furniture have been briefly but lucidly described in the first section with authentic quotations from literary and archaeological sources. In the Social and Economic section the significance of castes and communities, division of labour, sources of income, origin of writing, development of literature, agriculture, mineralogy, industry, trade and commerce, medium of exchange, trade routes, marketing, banking and the general prosperity of the country have been similarly elucidated. In the Political section have been described the sources of power, political institutions, forms of government, sources of royal revenues and courts of Justice. Dr. Acharya has made full citations to show that the Parliamentary form of government was known and practised in Hindu India. The moral and religious civilization has been discussed in the last section. It goes without saying that a knowledge of our cultural heritage is necessary to complete our education. But it is also necessary in the sphere of public life especially of legislation where our national tradition should be fully understood as a preliminary to reform. From this point of view the work under notice deserves a wide circulation not merely for the matter it

presents but also for the manner in which it is presented in a convenient and condensed form. It should be used as a text book for Intermediate and higher studies at the colleges and universities."

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji
(*The Pioneer*, 14-8-1940)

"The author is a veteran worker in the field of Sanskrit research and from his tabular analysis of the ancient Indian learning, we feel that he has given years of thought to the proper presentation of the problems of Indian literature, orthodox as well as heterodox. His is the shortest guide to the intricate maze of Hindu culture. He summarises in broad outline the family life, the social life, the political life, and the moral and spiritual life, and in every case he gives for the benefit of his readers the important technical terms together with their Sanskrit equivalents. The pictures of material civilization represented by architecture, ornaments, furniture, etc., are no less important and thought-provoking. We consider Prof. Acharya's *Elements of Hindu Culture* as the most moderately priced and the best book available".

Dr. Kalidas Nag
(*The Modern Review*, February 1940)

"This small book contains a very brief and at the same time lucid presentation of the various aspects of Ancient Indian Civilization. After a short introductory portion the author deals with the subject under four headings, namely, Family, Society, Politics, and Philosophy and Religion. The book is based on a study of the original sources in Sanskrit and Pali, and for the various statements there are references given from the original texts. It is primarily meant for students who appear for competitive examinations and for legislators and debaters, who have limited time to study the original sources. Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR commends it as "very interesting and useful." "This little book", he says, "would supply the needs of those who want to know the essential elements of ancient Hindu Culture without going through learned and ponderous volumes. I hope it will be largely used by candidates for competitive examinations and general readers with interest on India's past." The book has grown out of lecture notes and embodies the experience of many years of teaching. The name of the author is sufficient guarantee for the dependability of the book so far as thoroughness and accuracy go".

(*The Indian Review*, September, 1940)

"As a reputed Oriental scholar, Prof. P. K. Acharya of the Allahabad University hardly needs any introduction in our hands. His monumental work in the field of ancient Indian Architecture has raised him to the position of a reputed authority on the subject. We learn, from the preface to the work under review, that the present hand book has grown out of the lecture notes delivered by the learned Professor at the B. A. and M. A. classes in the ancient history sections of the History and Sanskrit Departments of the Allahabad University. In the body of this small book mere elements of 'Ancient Hindu Culture and Civilization' have been briefly

outlined in consideration of the present day need, and consequently elaborate discussions are not to be expected here. The author makes clear in the preface to his work the main reasons for the publication of such a brief compendium—in this age of national awakening almost everywhere and of nationalism in every quarter, it is but natural that a strong demand has been made to say briefly and precisely what our ancient forefathers knew and did, and what they did not know and could not do. This demand is no longer confined to our young learners in schools, colleges and universities, but it has now spread among the general public including voters, members of the legislature and the administrators like the ministers and the executive officers of the Government of the country. But the modern students, competitors in service examinations, legislators, debaters and executives have but limited time and patience and no inclination for an extensive study and a scholarly investigation. This hand book will fulfil their requirements."

(The Amrita Bazar Patrika, June 9, 1940)

"The volume under review is a short but comprehensive guide to Hindu culture. The learned author is a well known scholar and has made a deep study of ancient Hindu art, architecture and culture. In this book he seeks to help the student of ancient Indian history to understand and appreciate the immense and intricate maze of Hindu civilization. He discusses, briefly but with remarkable clarity, the ancient social and political systems and the domestic and spiritual life of the people of this country. Equally able and interesting is his treatment of the more concrete symbols of Hindu culture, such as Hindu architecture, ancient ornaments, furniture, etc. It will be found extremely helpful by university students and others."

(The Leader, May, 1940)

"We often speak of our ancient culture and civilization of which we are rightly proud, but few of us have any accurate idea of the marvellous progress India had made in the political and social fields no less than in the moral and spiritual life. Ancient Indian culture is, again, an important subject in the curriculum of the University as well as Public Services examinations. There are, of course, several treatises in English written by eminent scholars, which discuss one or other aspect of our ancient culture; but there was so far no book which gave in a handy form sufficient information on a variety of topics about which a layman may have curiosity. Dr. Acharya's book supplies this want admirably.

"In the introductory section the author defines culture and civilization. Culture, according to him, aims at refinement of natural intelligence and capacities to its fullest growing power, while civilization aims at making man happier, nobler and better off than he is. Dr. Acharya divides his subject into four main sections, dealing respectively with family life, social life, political life, and moral and spiritual life. Under the first section he not only describes the salient features of castes, sacraments and orders of life (asramas), but gives interesting information about food, clothes, ornaments, furniture, etc., used in India from the time of the Vedas.

'In the next section dealing with social life, Dr. Acharya treats of such subjects as public property, agriculture, industry, trade and commerce as well as literature. He shows clearly how trade and commerce flourished in India because of the great public roads which linked the flourishing cities in the farthest corners of the land. Under literature he treats briefly not only of Hindu, but also of Buddhist and Jain literatures.

'The popular notion that democratic ideas were first introduced in India by the British will be dispelled by a perusal of the section dealing with ancient Indian republics. From the evidence of the Vedas, the Epics, the Arthashastra of Kautilya as well as Buddhist works, Dr. Acharya shows that there were, in ancient India, a number of democratic institutions such as the Sabha, the Samiti, the Sangha, etc., which managed the affairs of the republican states. These states continued to flourish in India down to the time of the Guptas.

'In the last section the author treats briefly of the moral and spiritual life. He passes in review not only the orthodox Hindu systems such as the Sankhya, the Nyaya and the Vedanta, but also the Buddhist and Jain religions and their philosophy. The book is thus a veritable mine of information about ancient India'.

(*The Independent*, 30th September, 1939)

'Needless to say that this unique book will fulfil a very greatly felt need of students and the general public alike. I was for the same reason pressing the distinguished author for a long time to write a book of this type. This will be an ideal hand book for B. A. and M. A. students and will be a great help to those preparing for public services examinations as well as to the members of our Legislatures and Ministries'.

Dharmendra Nath Shastri, Tarkashiromani, M.A., M.O.L.

सानन्दं स्वं कृतवन्ती वर्षे ग्रन्थरत्नमिदम् । भारतवर्षस्य प्राचीनतमायाः कृष्टेः सन्वता-
याश्च कीदृशं रूपमासीदिति प्रदर्शनमेव ग्रन्थकर्तुं रहस्यम् । समग्रोपयोगिनं ग्रन्थमिममा-
लम्ब्य न केवलं छात्रास्तथा मध्यापकाश्चापि लाभमनुभवयुस्तथा नास्ति संशयलेशोऽपि ।
आर० सि० दत्त, बालिस् जलि, आर० के० मुखर्जी, आर० सि० मजुमदार—सुखा मनोपिण
आर्याणां कृष्टेः सन्वतायाश्चैकैकरो दिशः सम्पक् प्रदर्शयन् । अथञ्च ग्रन्थकारस्त्वयिऽनति-
मद्वि ग्रन्थे तयोः कृष्टि-ग्रन्थयोः समग्रं रूपं पूर्णतया प्रकाशयितुं प्रायस्सत् । कर्तव्येऽस्मिन्
अगत्याऽनेकैव तेन स्वं कृतायामपि संक्षिप्ततायां लेखनोपेयत्वेन कस्यापि विषयस्य कापि
वर्णना नीरसतां नासादयत् । त्वमस्य ग्रन्थस्य बहुलं प्रचारं कामयामहे । इति ।

श्री अमरेश्वरठाकुर-वेदान्तशास्त्री, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी०

संस्कृत-साहित्य-निरूप-यंत्रिका (April, 1940, p. 352)

APPENDIX III

*The Oxford University Press are happy to announce the completion of
Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya's monumental work on
Indian Architecture :*

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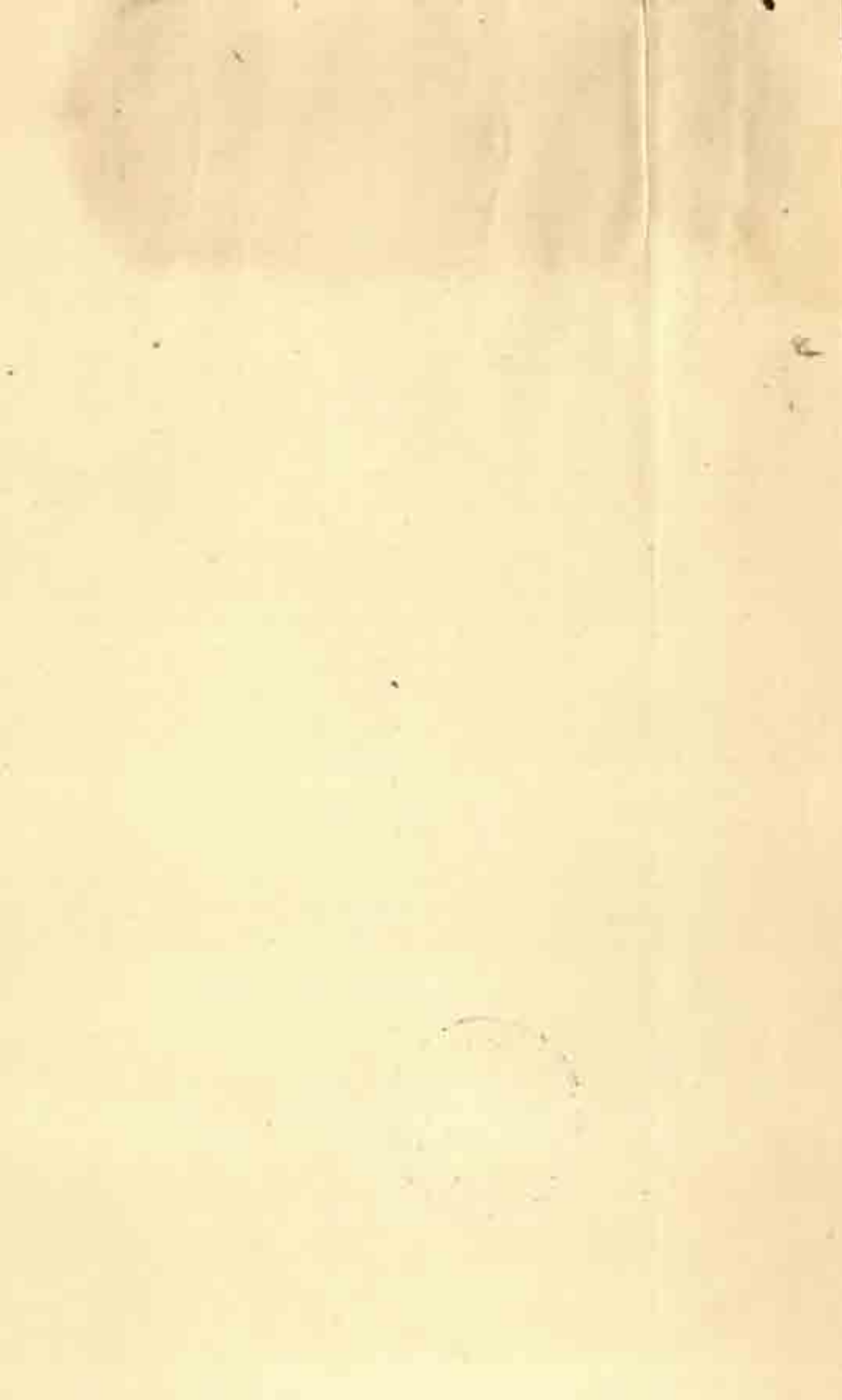
This is a revised and enlarged edition of the *Dictionary* published as Vol. I of the series in 1927. More than three thousand words relating to architecture, sculpture and cognate arts are defined, and are illustrated by plates and copious quotations from manuscripts and printed sources.

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